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MASALIK UL ABSAR FI MUMALIK-UL AMSAR

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SHAHABUDDIN AL UMARI.

Translated into English
with an introduction and explanatory notes

By

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PREFACE.

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The translation of the portion of Masalik ul-Absar relating to India was undertaken on account of the great importance of the work for students of Indian History. There are few contemporary records so rich in detail about the court and the camp of the Sultans, the weights, measures and coins then current and the general conditions of the people as this work based on travellers' accounts of India. Dr. Otto Spies has translated it at our request and notes have been added by us. An attempt has been made to give a faithful translation of the text, sometimes even at the cost of clarity of expression. The notes are intended to supplement the information contained in the Masalik from the most reliable contemporary Persian and Arabic records.

Dr. Otto Spies also published a translation of a portion of Subuhul-A'sha in the Journal of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. The Subuh ul-A'sha, though substantially based on Masalik ul-Absar, contains much information supplementing theaccount of Ibn Fadlullah. Dr. Spies has given copious explanatory foot notes and they have not been repeated in the Masalik ul-Absar, but may be read with our text.

ABDUR RASHID.
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Muslim University,
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April, 1943.

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Introduction

IBN FADLULLAH AL'UMARI.

Ibn Fadlullah al Umari or, to give his name in full, Shahabuddin Abul 'Abbas Ahmad bin Yahya bin Fadlullah al 'Umari was born on 3 Shawwal, A.H. 700/1301 A.C. He traced his descent to the great Caliph 'Umar, and was, therefore, called al 'Umari.

A great historian and man of letters, he was equally well versed in Arabic prosody, fiqh, astronomy and mathematics. He pursued his studies in these sciences under the foremost scholars of his age in Hijaz and at Damascus and Cairo. His special subjects however, were history and geography, and he was regarded a great authority on the history of the Mongols and the Islamic peoples. The author of the *Fawat al-Wafayat*, the supplement to Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, pays him a great compliment when he says that there had not been born a scholar like him since the famous al-Qadi'l-Fadil ('Abdur-Rahim bin 'Ali, d. 1200 A.C.). He also eulogises him by saying that he combined in himself four such attributes as were rarely found in any one man, namely, wonderful memory, elegance of conversation, brilliance of intellect, and great political originality. He was the author of several works on various branches of literature, *e.g.*, history, geography, belles-lettres, anthologies of verses, etc. He also wrote a voluminous biography of his forbears, the Caliph 'Umar and his family, *Fadail ul 'Umar*, in four volumes. His most important work, however, is the *Masalik-ul-Absar fi Mamalik-ul-Amsar*, a voluminous geographical, historical and biographical work, almost encyclopædic in range in 27 (or 22) volumes. The author of the *Fawat* holds this work in the highest esteem and it was indeed

the chief authority for all the writers on historical and geographical subjects during the subsequent centuries. Unfortunately, it has not yet been published in its entirety. Ahmad Zaki Pasha undertook to edit it but could publish only the first volume.

Ibn Fadlullah held important posts in the government from time to time in Egypt and Syria. While in Egypt he displeased the king by an unthoughtful act of his and was put iuto prison. Ultimately he retired to Damascus where he died in 748/1348[1].

The *Masalik ul-Absar* has long been recognized as a book of considerable historical importance, and held in high esteem by scholars on account of the careful and well-balanced account of persons and places mentioned therein. The author cites few contemporary Indian authorities and mainly depends on the accounts furnished to him by travellers and eye-witnesses of intelligence and insight on whose veracity and judgement he could depend. He refers to no Indian histories and mentions some Arabic books from which he appears to have derived some information relating to India. He mentions the names of the following eleven travellers whose accounts of India have been incorporated in his book :

1. Muhammad bin 'Abd ur-Rahim Qulainashi.
2. Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmud.
3. Shaikh Burhanuddin Abu Bakr bin Khallal Bazzi.
4. Allama Sirajuddin Abu Safa 'Umar bin Ishaq.
5. Qadi Nizamuddin Yahya bin al-Hakim.
6. 'Ali bin Mansur 'Aqili.
7. Qadiul-Qudat Abu Muhammad al-Hasan bin Muhammad Ghori.

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(1) For further references relating to the author, see *Fawat al-Wafayat*, I,9: Shadharat, VI, 160; Brockelmann, II, 141, Supplement, II, 175.

8. Tajuddin Abul Mujahid of Samarqand, otherwise known as Sharif Samarqandi.
9. Ibn ul-Taj Hafiz of Multan.
10. Shaikh Muhammad Khujandi.
11. Sharif Nasiruddin Muhammad Hasani, Karami called Zammurrudi. (Masalikul-Absar, MS. 5867, B. N., Paris).

Only one of them had lived in Delhi and served in the army of Sultan Muhammad bin-Tughluq. No reference to any of these travellers is found in the Indian histories of this period. The author died about the same time as Muhammad bin Tughluq and this account must have been completed from the data supplied by travellers recently returned from India. The account of India given by Shahabuddin is particularly important as it gives an excellent description of the country and its people, the splendour of the capital cities, the magnificence of the Court, the social and economic life of the country and the affluence and prosperity of the people during the reign of Muhammad bin-Tughluq. There are contemporary accounts available of the period but *Masalik ul-Absar* supplements the information contained in them and is indispensable in certain respects. For much of the information that we at present possess about the economic conditions in India in the fourteenth century, the weights, measures and coins then current, the organization of the nobility and the army, the ceremonies at the court and other intimate touches about the king and his subjects, we are beholden to the *Masalik ul-Absar.*

Shahabuddin's account of India relates to the period of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. Few monarchs of the Medieval world have been so misunderstood and misrepresented as this Sultan. Ziauddin Barni who was for more than 17 years at the court of the Sultan, and had excellent opportunities of a close contact with him and other prominent officials of his court repeatedly

confesses his inability to understand the Sultan. The latter was a man of complex personality, a revolutionary by temperament and a man of inordinate ambition and dynamic energy. The easy-going, conservative, tradition-ridden courtiers and officials felt crushed under the weight of his genius and Muhammad bin-Tughluq was a singularly lonely man whom no one understood and with whom no one could co-operate. The following extracts from Ziauddin Barni and from Ibn-i-Batutah will reveal the character of the man as seen on the one hand by a contemporary courtier who represented the old bureaucracy that was fast disappearing and on the other by an intelligent but highly sensitive and almost hyper-critical traveller of the world who visited the court and enjoyed the favour of the Sultan. Compared with these accounts the *Masalik ul-Absar* appears to be distinctly favourable to the Sultan. A close comparison of the three accounts will bring to light many facts of considerable historical importance which are of great value in properly evaluating the personality of this much-maligned emperor.

"God Almighty", says Ziauddin Barni, "had created the late Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah as a marvel of Creation and unique among the created beings. The qualities of a conqueror and the requisites for rulership were ingrained in his nature. He possessed an ambition which could not be satisfied without the overlordship of the four corners of the world and a heart which aspired to rule over the entire mankind as well as the genii.

"Unconquerable ambition was a part of this incomparable king's nature. He desired prophethood and kingship to be united in him and wished every king to be his underling. I was bewildered and amazed to see his ambition for he is the most wonderful of the wonders of Creation. I cannot compare it with that of

Pharoah and Nimrod, because his regularity at the five prayers, his hereditary belief in Islam, and his complete obedience to God and performance of religious duties, would go against my contentions If I were to compare his high aspirations with those of Bayazeed Bustami or with those of Hussain Mansur Hallaj, it would not be right because the punishment of Mussulamans and the killing of numberless true believers such as Saiyads, Shaikhs, the learned Sunnis, the followers (at prayer), the gentry, the freeborn and from other sects prevent me from coming to that conclusion. I, therefore, cannot write anything but that God Almighty had created Sultan Muhammad as one of the wonders of the creation, and a correct perception of his manifold and contradictory qualities cannot be encompassed by the "*erudition*" of the learned and the wisdom of the wise. One cannot help being astonished and amazed at a person, who was a hereditary Mussalman, offers his prayers five times daily, does not drink any intoxicant, shuns adultery and other immoral, wicked and perfidious deeds, plays no games of chance, and abstains from all vices and sins and yet his punishments make the blood of the Sunni Mussulmans and the true believers of pure faith flow like a river in front of the palace gates. Books and volumes would not suffice to fully describe his munificence and generosity, the richness of profusion of his rewards and gifts; and the signs of his lofty intentions, for his innate liberality and natural generosity were beyond measure and above all estimation.

"I have written that Sultan Muhammad was a wonder among created things and I repeat my assertion once more that in addition to his lavish generosity, great liberality and lofty intentions the Sultan was endowed with many other noble qualities also. The wisdom and sagacity of this monarch cannot be

expressed in writing or in words. There was magic in his speech and the sweetness of his conversation was a miracle indeed. The style and the composition of his letters and dispatches simply astonished the most experienced of his secretaries. He knew by heart a good deal of Persian poetry. The Sultan possessed a wonderful memory. He was much interested in rationalistic philosophy".

Ibn-i-Batutah thus depicts the character of the Sultan. "This king is of all men the fondest of making gifts and of shedding blood. His gate is never without some poor man enriched or some living man executed, and stories are current amongst the people of his generosity and courage and of his cruelty and violence towards criminals. For all that, he is of all men the most humble and the readiest to show equity and justice. The ceremonies of religion are strictly complied with at his court and he is severe in the matter of attendance at prayer and in punishing those who neglect it. He is one of those kings whose felicity is unimpaired and surpassing all ordinary experience, but his dominant quality is generosity."

A careful perusal of these accounts together with information contained in the mystic records reveals the Sultan as a general, soldier, scholar, statesman, poet, physician, philosopher, calligraphist, and one who was harsh and generous, kind and cruel, and gifted with immense energy and will-power. The *Masalik ul-Absar* agrees with Barni and Ibn-i-Batutah in all the details but is silent about the reckless shedding of blood and of cruel punishments meted out to those who transgressed the laws of the state. It is difficult to explain this but one is led to agree with Prof. Brown that the tales of horror conjured by Ibn-i-Batuta and Barni are a little exaggerated and the refined and cultured monarch who was known even in the days of Jehangir

as "the Just" was not after all a monster of cruelty. The only case cited of an execution which appears to have attracted the attention of the informant of the author of *Masalikul Absar* is that of a person who was executed for wine-bibbing inspite of the prohibition of the Sultan to the contrary.

The death of Shahbuddin of Ghor in 1206 A. C. and the accession of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak marks a turning-point in the political history of India. Since the beginning of the eleventh century north-western India had been subjected to the invasions of the Turks under the Ghaznavides and later on under the Ghoris. Both these dynasties ruled the conquered Indian territories from a foreign capital but afterwards the Turkish Sultans of Delhi were completely isolated from their homelands and their co-religionists, and this political isolation became more pronounced after the irruption of the Mongols and the establishment of Mongol rule beyond the north-western confines of India.

During the 13th century the Sultans of Delhi had on one side to fight against the disorganised but strong and persistent resistance of the Hindu Chiefs; on the other hand they had to fight against the devastating flood of the Mongols that broke in on the Muslim world. The result was the stunted expansion of Muslim rule in India during the 13th century, barrenness of political or administrative effort on the part of the conquerors and a gradual domestication and Indianisation of the foreigners in the country. The Mongols by destroying the seats of Muslim culture, civilization and learning in central Asia rendered an indirect service to India. Princes, soldiers, saints, and philosophers dislodged from their homes found a refuge in India which was comparatively immune from Mongol peril. Thus the cream of Muslim society was to be found in India in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries and the later progress of Muhammadan arms

and culture in India was beholden to a great extent to that calamity which had blasted the prosperity of Baghdad. The Mussulmans in India became the bulwark of the country against foreign invasions. They guarded her frontiers, gave her political unity, did away with administrative anarchy, developed her resources and gave a new impetus to the cultivation of arts and sciences. The establishment of the Khalji imperialism with the accession of Ala-uddin Khalji in 1295 did much to bring about administrative and political unity within the country. Alauddin was an exponent of the "all India Imperial idea" and at one time conceived the ambitious though impracticable plan of a 'universal state' and a new faith. Good advice and sound judgment made him turn his fertile imagination and exuberant energy to the reorganisation of the entire administrative machinery, to the conquest and coercion into submission of the country and above all to harnessing the resources of the country to the political wagon of the Khaljis and to inculcate a respect for and a fear of the established authority. The fear of the Mongols which had so long hung like a thunder cloud over the kingdom passed away before the host which he gathered to meet it. Cool-headed and clear-sighted, quick to resolve and quicker to strike, Alauddin's career forms one long series of victories over all his rivals.

The work of Alauddin was interrupted by the civil war after his death but it was continued vigorously with modifications by the Tughluqs particularly by the second king of the dynasty, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. The India of Muhammad bin Tughluq with the extent of its territories, its large armies, its immense wealth, its flourishing ports and towns and a prosperous population was the result of the Khalji and Tughluq statesmanship.

The empire of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was far more extensive and magnificent than that of any of his

predecessors. Extending from Delhi and Lahore to Dwara Samudra and Maabar in the south, and from Lakhnauti and Gaur in the east to Thatta and Indus in the west, it embraced twenty-three provinces covering the rich and fertile ports of the country. The author particularly mentions the country of Qarajil with its rich gold mines. It was the conquest of Qarajil or the territory of modern Chamba which has been taken by historians to have been the first step to the proposed conquest of China. According to the author of *Masalik-ul Absar* it was the beauty of the women of Qarajil that made the Sultan undertake this conquest, but there is nothing in the contemporary accounts to justify such an inference in the case of a king who is acknowledged on all hands to have been a man of spotless purity of character.

The *Masalik* does not make any mention of the transfer of the capital to Deogir and the hardships resulting from it. Written nearly ten years after the transference of the capital, Ibn-i-Fadlullah's informant saw no devastation of Delhi which the coloured and exaggerated account of Ibn-i-Batuta has made familiar to the students of history. Nor is there any evidence of the bitterness of the people of Delhi at such a transference.

There is at the same time no mention of the so-called "token currency" introduced by the Sultan which constitutes a most important count in the indictiment of the Sultan. *Masalik's* description of the missionary activities of the Sultan is characteristic of medieval historians of the time. Dr. Mahdi thus dismisses the question. "The whole of his life fails to give any instance of unkindness to his non-Muslim subjects on the ground of religion, although the Masalik-ul-Absar talks magniloquently of his razing the idol-houses. Two incidents alone can be mentioned; one being related by Ibn Battuta and the other by Barni of the conversion of some Hindus to Islam. But neither can be cited as a proof of religious persecution. Even the Shiahs, whom orthodox Sunnis bitterly hated, and who were persecuted under Firoz Shah, enjoyed freedom".

The Country of Hind and Sind.

The Land and its People.

This is a most important country which can not be compared with any other country in the world in respect of its extensive territories, its abounding wealth and numerous armies, the grandeur of its Sultan[1] when he travels or is in residence and in respect of the might of his empire[2]. The fame and renown of this country is well-known.

I used to learn from the current news and written books what filled my eyes and ears. But I could not acquaint myself with the truth of its accounts because of its remoteness and the distance of these provinces from us. When I began to compose this book and made repeated inquiries from trustworthy narrators I found more than I had heard of and greater things than I had expected.

More is not necessary to say: it is a country in whose seas there are pearls, and in whose land there is gold, and in whose mountains there are rubies and diamonds, and in whose valleys there is aloe-wood and camphor, and in whose cities there are the thrones of the kings. Among its animals there are elephants and rhinoceros; from its iron are made the Indian swords; in it there are mines of iron, quicksilver and lead, and from some of its places there comes saffron, and in some of its valleys there are crystals; in it the good things of life are in abundance, prices here are cheap; its armies are numberless, and its territories are limitless. Its people have wisdom and great intelligence. Of all nations they have the greatest control over their passions and devote

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1. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, (1325-1351).

2. The empire was divided into 23 provinces, but in the text twenty-four provinces are mentioned, Talang having been mentioned twice. Ziauddin Barni mentions only 12 provinces. Barni, pp. 467, 473,

themselves most to what is regarded as bringing one near unto God[3].

Tuhfat-ul-Albab of Mohammad bin Abdur Rahim.

Muhammad bin Abdur Rahim al-Qulainashi-al-Ghamati says in his book TUHFAT-UL-ALBAB[4] "the huge country, great justice, considerable wealth, good administration, constant convenience of life, and security on account of which there is no fear in the country of India and China. The Indians are the most learned people in the branches of philosophy, medicine, arithmatic and (skilled) in all the wonderful crafts which it is impossible to imitate. In their mountains and islands there grow the trees of aloes-wood and camphor and all sorts of aromatic plants *e.g.* clove tree, nutmeg, spikenard (sumbul), dar-chini, Cinnamon (Qirfa) salikha, cardamom (qaqullah), cubeb, mace and many kinds of drugs of vegetable origin (aqaqir). And they have musk deer and civet cat. Different kinds of rubies are exported from their country, mostly from the island of Ceylon".

Al-Iqd of Ibn-Abdur Rabbihi.

Ibn-*Abdur Rabbihi* has related in his "al-Iqd"[5] on the authority of Nu'aim bin Hammad: The King of India sent a letter to 'Omar bin Abdul Aziz[6] in which (was written): From the king of kings who is the son of thousand kings, under whom is the daughter of thousand kings, in whose stables there are thousand elephants and who has two rivers which make grow aloes-wood,

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3. "It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature". Babur.

4. Tuhfat-ul-Albab by Muhammad bin Abdur Rahman al-Mazini (died 565/1169). It deals with geography according to his own voyages and the descriptions of others. G. Ferrand has edited the work on the basis of the manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale and in Algiers, Paris 1925.

5.

6. The Umayyad Caliph.

fragrant wood, nuts and camphor the smell of which spreads to a distance of twelve miles, to the king of Arabs who does not associate anything with God. To begin with : I send a present, and it is not a present, but a greeting. I desire that you may send to me a man who may teach me and make me understand Islam. And Salam. By "the present", "letter" is meant.

Mubarak Ibn-i-Mahmud al-Khambati.

The learned and blessed Shaikh, the descendant of noble ancestors, *Mubarak Ibn Mahmud al-Khambati*[7] belonging to the descendants of Mohammad Shadhan,[8] the private-chamberlain (Hajib-i-Khas) and he is trustworthy and honest and he is well informed about what he says in respect of himself and his ancestor[9] position with the kings of this country. He says that this country is extremely extensive so that its length is three years by ordinary journey and its width is also three years, and its latitude is that which lies between *Somnat*[9] and *Sarandib*[10] upto Ghazna and its longitude from the *Bay opposite to Aden* to the *Wall of Alexander*[11] where the Indian Ocean meets the Atlantic Ocean. There are closely situated towns with *mimbars*, thrones and districts, villages, market-places and bazars. No desolated place comes between them.

I said the distance which he has mentioned as regards latitude and longitude requires examination because the whole inhabited world is not equal to this distance, except if he intended that this is the distance

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7. Probably he was a resident of Cambay.

8. We have not been able to find any reference to him in contemporary accounts.

9. For a detailed description of Somnath see, Dr. Mohammed Nazim's Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, pp. 209-224.

10. Modern Ceylon.

11. The great Chinese Wall.

for one who travels in it acquiring thorough knowledge of it and knowing what was in it, place by place. He continues: The people of the country of Qarajil[12] are subject to this Sultan. They have from him protection and security on account of taxes which are brought to him from them and are a source of wealth. In the mountain of Qarajil there are seven gold mines from which is obtained incalculable wealth. The whole of this country comprising of land and sea belongs to the present Sultan except the islands scattered over the sea. As regards the coast there remains not the space of a span but (lies) in his hand the opening of its locks and possession of its strongholds. At present he has the right of *Khutba* and coinage[13] in the whole of this country; in this land no body shares (power) with him.

He says: I was present with him in the great conquests which I shall relate having been an eye-witness, briefly, and not in detail for fear of making the explanation lengthy.

Conquests of the Sultan.

The first place which was conquered was the country of Tilink[14]. It is an extensive province with many villages, the number of which is nine hundred thousand

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12. Qarajil: It is difficult to locate Qarajil which according to Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi lay between Hind (India) and China. See Barni, pp. 477-78. It has been identified by some Scholars with modern Chamba and by others with the Kumaon division of the United Provinces.

13. They were the two symbols of sovereignty.

14. *Tilink*: The Kakatya kingdom of Telingana was situated to the south-east of Deogir. Its capital, Warrangal, was a very strongly fortified town. It was conquered by the Mussalmans for the first time in the days of Alauddin Khalji in 1309-10. For a detailed account of this conquest see Khazainul Futuh pp. 79-122. It resumed its independence after the death of Alauddin and had to be reconquered by his son Qutubuddin Mubarak Khalji. The assassination of Mubarak and the usurpation of Khusrau Khan led to a general confusion in the country and the Deccan princes took advantage of the situation to declare their

(Continued on next page).

and nine hundred. Then the province of Jajnagar[15] was conquered. In it there are 70 fine cities all ports on the sea, the revenue of which consists of pearls, elephants, different kinds of cloth, perfumes and aromatics. Then the province of Lakhnauti[16] was conquered which has been the seat of nine kings. Then the province of

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(Continued from previous page).

independence. Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq sent an expedition to the south under the command of Prince Ulugh Khan who conquered and annexed the kingdom of Telingana in 1323. From Telingana he proceeded towards Jajnagar and captured 40 elephants there (Barni pp. 446-450).

It was before his accession in 1325 that Muhammad Tughluq had conquered these kingdoms of the South. After his accession to the throne he had to go to the Deccan in order to suppress the rebellion of his cousin Bahauddin Gurshasp. Curiously enough this last campaign is not mentioned by Barni. The wrong dates given by Ferishta and others have led some modern writers to believe that Muhammad Tughluq had led an expedition into the Deccan in 1327-28. This is wrong. It was to suppress Gurshasp's rebellion and not conquer fresh territories that the expedition was undertaken. Badaoni gives the date of this rebellion as 1327 which is correct and is corroborated by Ibn-i-Batutah.

Evidently Shahabuddin's narration has confused the accounts of the various expeditions and campaigns by calling them as the conquests of the Sultan. For further reference see Barni, 446-450; Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi 95-96;

Ferishta, Gulshani Ibrahiemi; Aiyangar's South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders 136, 139-140.

15. Jajnagar; situated on the banks of Mahanudy, was the capital of Orissa and is generally used for the whole of that country in Persian histories. It was conquered by Jauna Khan in 1323 after the Telingana expedition,

16. Lakhnauti:— The town was founded by Sangaldip according to the author of Riaz us Salatin. Bakhtiar Khalji conquered it in 1198 A. D. and made it the capital of Bengal. Qazi Minhaj visited the place in 641 A. H. and has given an account of the city in his Tabaqat i-Nasiri (*Vide* Tabqat, p. 162 and Riaz us Salatin p. 28-30).

The province of Lakhnauti undoubtedly means Bengal which was not conquered by Mohd. Tughluq but by his father Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq. (*Vide* Barni, p. 450-452, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, page 96).

Devagir[17] was conquered. It has 84 strong hill forts. *Sheikh Burhanuddin Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal al-Bazzi* related that there are one crore and two lakh villages in it. Then the province of Dursamand[18] was conquered where *Sultan Bilal Deo*[19] *and five infidel* kings reigned. Then the province of Ma'bar[20] was conquered.

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17. Deogir:—The northernmost of the Hindu kingdoms of the South was ruled over by the Yadavas. It was conquered by the Mussalmans for the first time in the reign of Jalaluddin Khalji when his son-in-law and nephew, Alauddin led an expedition to the Deccan. The Yadava Raja Ramchandra (the Muslim historians call him Ram Deo) was besieged in his capital by the Khalji Prince and ultimately had to offer his submission and purchase peace. It was again conquered in 1309 and made tributary to the Empire of Delhi. The victorious Malik Kafur brought Ram Chandra to Delhi where he was received by Sultan Alauddin with great kindness and reinstalled in his kingdom as a feudatory chief. (See Barni, p. 326). Till his death Ram Chandra remained loyal to Delhi. By the time that Qutubuddin Mubarak had ascended the throne of Delhi, Deogir had passed from Ramchandra's son, Shankar Deo, to his son-in-law, Harapala Deo. The latter was an ambitious young man and taking advantage of the disturbances at Delhi threw off the Muslim yoke. Mubarak, therefore, marched to Deogir, defeated Harapala and had him flayed alive. He appointed a Muslim governor and other officers and thus consolidated his power in the south. After this Deogir was always a province of the Delhi Empire till the foundation of the independent Bahmani kingdom by Hasan Gangu in 1347. Thus we see that Deogir was conquered neither by Ghiasuddin nor by Muhammad bin Tughluq. As suggested above probably he refers to the expedition of Sultan Muhammed in 1327-28 which he had undertaken in order to suppress the rebellion of Gurshasp. (Vide Barni, p. 389 390) Khusrau's Nuh Sipahr, Firishta, Bombay edition, Vol. I, pp. 220-221. Elliot, Vol. III. p; 214-15.

18. Rectins Dwara Samudra.

19. Bilal Deo-Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala Raja of Dwarasamudra.

20. Ma'bar—It means a 'ferry or a crossing place'; the name was given by the Arab merchants of the XIII and XIV centuries. Some writers have confused it with Malabar while Maabar denotes the Coromandal coast. It was conquered by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. In the time of Qutbuddin an expedition was sent to Maabar under the command of his favourite Khusrau Khan (Barni,pp. 398-399; Elliot, III, 219). It remained a province of the Delhi Empire till 1335, when Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah set up an independent kingdom.

It is a big country having ninety ports on the sea-coast the revenue of which is derived from perfumes, muslin (lanis), various kinds of cloth and other beautiful things. The learned Faqih, Sirajuddin Abu Safa Omar bin Ishaq bin Ahmad al-Shibli al-Oudhi[21] from the province of Oudh in India and he is one of great jurists who are at present at the court of the Sultan in Delhi has related to me, that the chief provinces in the territory of this king are twenty-three in number[22]. These are: the provinces of Delhi, Deogir, Multan, Kahran (Kuhram), Saman, Sabastan (Sewistan), Wajja (Uch), Hasi, (Hansi), Sasuti (Sirsa), Ma'bar, Tiling (Telingana), Gujrat, Badaun, Awadh (Oudh), Qanauj, Lakhnauti, Bihar, Karrah, Malwah, Lahawar (Lahore), Kalanur, Jajnagar, Talanj and Dursamand.

These provinces consist of twelve hundred cities, all of which form small and large sub-divisions. In all of them are administrative units and populous villages. I do not know the number of their villages save that according to my knowledge the province of Qanauj[23] has one hundered and twenty lakhs—every lakh being one hundred thousand villages, so that there are twelve

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21. He is not mentioned in Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.

22. The list of the Provinces of the Empire is more complete than any given by a contemporary Indian writer. Barni mentions incidentally the names of some of the provinces when speaking of the vast extent of the Empire of Muhammed bin Tughaluq. He does not give the names of the northern provinces. But he mentions the names of Gujrat, Malwa, Marhatt (Deogir), Tilang, Kampila, Dwar Samudra, Maabar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sunargaon and Tirhut.

The name of Tilang has been mentioned twice by mistake. It is clear that the author means twenty-three and not twenty-four provinces. Barni, pp. 467-473.

23. For a reference to Qanauj in the works of Arab geographers see Subuh-al-Asha of Qalqashandi. It was a strongly fortified place in those days as Ibn-i-Batutah says when giving an account of the revolt of Ainul Mulk, the governor of Oudh. See Barni, page 489.

million villages. The province of Tiling has thirty-six lakhs. *i.e.* three million six hundred thousand villages. The Province of Malwa is greater than that of Qanauj. But I could not give the accurate number of its villages. As regards Ma'bar, it includes a number of big islands everyone of which is a respectable kingdom such as Quilon[24] (Qolaun), Fatan,[25] Silan[26] and Malabar[27].

Sheikh Mubarak related: There are in Lakhnauti two hundred thousand small but swift moving boats. If one were to shoot an arrow at the foremost one of them it would fall on the middle one of them on account of their fast speed. There are others which have mills, ovens and bazars. Often the passengers come to know each other only after some time on account of the vast size of the ship.

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24. Quillon:—It is a town in Travancore state. It was in medieval ages a very famous and important sea-port on the Malabar coast. The Arabs called it Kaolam. Marco Polo calls it Coilum. It was constituted a section of the Roman Church in 1328 and appears in the ecclesiastical narratives of the middle ages as Columbum. (*Vide Marco Polos Travels*; Rashiduddin in Elliot, Vol. I. 68, and Wassaf, Elliot Vol. III, page 32; Ibn-i-Batutah Chapter IX, Section 16.).

25. Aiyangar identifies it as 'one of the two or three Pattanams in the vicinity of Ramesvaram, if not Ramesvaram itself, Amir Khusrau speaks of it in his Ashika as the capital of Pandy—a Guru, 'whose rule extended over sea and land'. Ibn-i-Batutah finally embarked from the port of Fatan for China when he was sent on a mission to that country. (*Vide* Aiyangar, South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, page 101. Ashika, Elliot III,p, 550, Ibn-i-Batutah, Chapter VII, Section 3.

26. Suliyan or the Chola territory.

27. It is the "pepperland" of the Arabs, the indigenous form of the name is Malai, Sanskritized Malaya. So we find the forms Male, Malai Maliah in post-classical literature of India. The suffix *bar* is attached to the name from about the middle of the 12th century. The origin of the suffix *bar* is not clear; it may be Sanskrit Vara "a region" of. *Reinaud, Relation etc.*, Chapter 1, 17: "The word *bar* serves to indicate that which is both a coast and a kingdom". See also Cunningham, page 179.

And the city of Delhi is the capital of the country. Then after it (comes) Qubbat-ul-Islam[28] and this is the city of Dewagir which this Sultan built anew and named "Qubbat-ul-Islam" I say: Thus the *Master of Hammad*, God have mercy on him says in "*Taqwim-ul Buldan*[29]" and he related it on the authority of one who is trustworthy in this respect. Sheikh Mubarak said: As regards Qubbatul-Islam, it is situated in the third climate.

When I left it six years ago it was not yet completed. And I do not think it is yet complete on account of the vast extent of the area of the city and hugeness of its buildings. The Sultan had divided it in such a wise that separate quarters were built for every class of people; a quarter for the troops, a quarter for the Wazirs, a quarter for the Secretaries, a quarter for the judges and the learned men, a quarter for the Sheikhs and Faqirs and a quarter for merchants and handicraftsmen. In every quarter there were found, according to the needs of every class, mosques, minarets, bazars, public

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28. Its original name was Devagir called by the Mussalmans Deogir. Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah named it Qutbabad on reconquering it in 1318 A.D. Hazrat Amir Khusrau says:—

رہے مبارک شہرے شہہ خسجتہ بلاد کہ نام یافت قطب شہر قطب آباد

(Nihayatul Kamal, British Museum MSS. quoted in Life and Works of Hazrat Amir Khasrau, page 122 n).

See Chronicles of the Pathan kings by Thomas (page 179-180) who supposes Qutbabad :o be a part of the city of Delhi.

Mohd. bin Tughalak renamed the place Daulatabad (Barni page 473) when he shifted his seat of government from Delhi. The place was spoken of as Qubbatul Islam. See The Chronicles of Pathan Kings by Thomas page 180.

29. Taqwim-ul-Buldan by Abu-l-Fida (died 732-1331), the prince and governor of Hamat. He is well-known through his Universal History and his work on geography both of which are quoted several times. The latter, entitled "Table of the Countries", Taqwim-ul-Buldan, has been edited and translated into French by Reinaud, Mac Guckin de Slane and St. Guyyard, Vol. I; II. i and II, 2, Paris 1840, 1848, 1883.

baths, ovens for (baking) flour; so that the people of that quarter did not depend upon the other quarter for selling and buying and exchanging things and that each quarter was in the position of a separate self-contained city and not dependent on others for anything[30].

In this country there are no desolate places except the space of 20 days' journey which is adjacent to *Ghazna*, on account of the contentions of the rulers of India and Turkestan and Trans-Oxiana (which consists of), of barren mountains and dense jungles. And the products of that (country) which consists of fragrant herbs, aromatics, odoriferous plants included in the *materia medica* are more profitable than sown grains with which they cannot be compared.

I say: The Qadi Nizamuddin Yahya bin-Hakim brought *to* my knowledge an old work on the country[31]. In it is mentioned that the whole of Multan consists of 1,26,000 villages (recorded) in the Diwan. Multan and Delhi are situated in the 3rd climate while the greater part of the country is situated in the 2nd and 3rd climates. It is a large country and is healthy except the rice growing fields. They are unhealthy and the low-lands are unwholesome. It is related in the same work that Mubarak b. Yusuf ath-Thaqafi obtained in Sind *40 behar of gold*, every behar consisting of 333 *mann*. He said:

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30. The same plan was adopted with reference to the towns of Syria when conquered by the Arabs. Each town was a self-sufficient unit and separate quarters were assigned to men of different professions. See Barthold "Musulman Culture".

31. In the early days of the Sultanate, Lahore and Multan formed the frontier towns, and the authority of the Delhi Sultans was little respected beyond the Indus. Only once during Nasiruddin Mahmud's reign is the Khutba reported to have been read in Ghazni in the name of the Delhi ruler.

Possibly *Murujuz-Zehab* of Masudi who says Multan had 1,20,000 villages.

From the countries of Ghazna and Qandhar (begin) the frontiers.

I inquired from Shaikh Mubarak about the mainland of India and the borderlands. He replied to me: in it there are about 1000 rivers, big and small, some of which resemble the Nile in length, others are smaller than it, others are still smaller and others are like the ordinary rivers. On the banks of the rivers are villages and cities and dense trees and verdant meadows.

India has a temperate climate the conditions of the seasons of which do not much change. It is neither extremely hot nor cold as if all the time were spring. In this (country) wind and pleasant zephyr gently blow. The rains fall continually for a period of four months, mostly towards the end of spring till the beginning of summer.[32]

In it are many kinds of grains, wheat, rice, barley, peas, lentils, mash, lobiya and sesame. As regards broad beans (ful), they are hardly found there. I say: I think the absence of broad beans is due to the fact that it is a country of philosophers and according to them the beans spoil the essence of the intellect. Therefore, the Sabeans too have forbidden the use of them. He said: In it there are fruits; figs, grapes, plenty of pomegranates, sweet, sour and acid, bananas, peaches citron, lemon, lime, orange, sycamore, black mulberries which are called 'firsad', water-melons (khiyar), yellow and green cucumber (qiththa), and melon. Figs and grapes are found in smaller quantities than the other fruits. As regards the quince it is found there and (also)

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32. The travellers' account of the climatic conditions in India refer only to one part of the year or only the country of Daulatabad. Babur's impression of Indian climate was different and less complimentary. See Babur's Memoirs, and Qiraa nus Saa. davn for accounts of Indian climate. The statement about the rainy season does not appear to be correct.

imported to this (country). As regards pears and apples they are still rarer than quince. There are other fruits which are not known in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq ; mangoes and mahwa, and laha and naghzak and other excellent and delightful fruits. As regards the coconut which is called "Indian nut" no other thing can be compared to it and it is green and full of oil. As regards the *hammar*, it is called the "Indian Tamarind". It is a wild tree growing in abundance on the mountains. Coconuts and bananas are less plentiful in Delhi than in neighbouring provinces where they are found in large quantities. Sugarcane is generally found in plenty throughout the country. One of it is of a black variety which is bad as regards its cane. It is the best (variety) for chewing but not for crushing ; it is not found elsewhere. From other varieties sugar is prepared in large quantities and is cheap as candy and the ordinary sugar. But it does not crystalise and is rather like white flour.[33]

According to the report of Sheikh Mubarak bin. Muhammad Shadhan there are in this country twenty-one varieties of rice. They have also turnips, carrots, pumpkin (vegetable marrow), badinjan (egg plant), asparagus, and ginger. They cook it when it is still green in the same manner as the carrot is cooked and it has an exquisite taste with which nothing can be compared. And there is also garden-beet, onion (garlic fum), fennel, thyme, and sweet smelling plants as rose, water-lily, violet. ban (nutmeg), and this is the same as Khallaf. Egyptian willow, narcissus, and this is (also called) abbar, narcissus, Jesamine, henna plant and this is faghiya. Similarly there is sesame-oil and they use it for lighting purposes.

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33. Cf. Ibn-i-Batutah, Chapter II, Section 2, Cf. Qalqashandi, pp. 48-50.

As regards olives they are obtained only by import. Honey is extremely abundant. Wax is only found in the palaces of the Sultan and its use is not allowed to anybody. The domestic animals such as buffaloes, cows, sheep and goats are innumerable, and also birds such as hen, pigeon wild (hemmam) and (domestic) baledi and goose which is less common than the other. As regards the turkey it is almost like a goose in size. All these animals are sold at the cheapest rates and the lowest prices.

As regards butter and milk of different kinds, they are so abundant that they mean nothing and no value is attached to them. In the bazars different kinds of foods are sold, for instance, roast meat, rice, baked and fried things, sweets of sixty-five kinds, fruit-drinks and sherbets which are hardly to be found in any other city.

In it are artisans such as makers of swords, bows and spears and different kinds of weapons, and coat of mail, goldsmiths, embroiderers, saddlers and masters of every craft who make special things for men and women and masters of swords and pen and the common people of whom the number cannot be reckoned.

Camels are few; they are only for the Sultan and for those from among the Khans, Amirs, Wazirs and high office-bearers who are with him.

Horses are numerous, there are two kinds: Arabian and pack horses, and mostly their work is not worth the praise. Therefore, they are imported to India from all the neighbouring countries of the Turks. Arabian horses are brought from Bahrain, Yemen and Iraq inspite of the fact that in the interior of India there are Arabian horses of noble descent which are cheap in price, but they are only few in number. When the horses stay in India for a long time, their legs become weak.

As regards the mules and donkeys, it is according to their opinion, a great disgrace and a shame to ride them. No jurist or man of letters will think it proper to ride a mule. As regards the donkey, it is a great insult and disgrace to ride it according to them, but every one rides the horse. The loads of the noblemen are carried on horses, and common people carry them on oxen. They are quick-footed and go with long strides.

The City of Delhi,

I enquired from Shaikh Mubarak about the city of Delhi[34] and its condition and the management of the affairs of the Sultans. He related to me that Delhi is composed of many cities which have been united together. Everyone of them had a special name and Delhi was only one of them and it had given its name to all of them. It is extensive in length and breadth and encloses an area of forty miles. Its buildings are

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34. Delhi 28, 39'N and 77, 15'E. Ibn-i-Batutah says that Delhi is really comprised of four different cities, namely, Old Delhi of the Hindus and the Slave Kings, Siri, Tughlaqabad and Jahanpanah. According to a tradition, Indraprastha was founded by the Pandavas in Pre-historic days, but "as a historical city, Delhi dates only from the middle of the eleventh century A. D., when Anang Pal, a Rajput chief of the Tomar clan, built the Red Fort, in which the Kutb Minar now stands, and founded a town" (Imp. Gaz. XIp, 233). The exact date given by an inscription on the Iron Pillar is 1052 A.D. For about a century the Tomars ruled over Delhi practically undisturbed but in 1151 A.D. they were supplanted by Visla Deva, the Chauhan chief of Ajmer. His grandson, Prithiviraj, made extensive additions in the city uncluding the Red Fort within its walls. Qutbuddin Aibak, the first Muslim ruler made it his capital and it was therefore from this period that Delhi came into prominence as the premier city of India. Alauddin Khalji built a new city for himself and named it Siri. Ghiasuddin raised another town five miles to the east of the old one and named it after himself Tughlukabad. His son and successor Muhammad bin Tughluq abandoned the capital of his father in favour of a new capital of his

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of stone and brick, the roofs of wood and the floor is paved with white stone resembling marble. In it the houses are not built more than two stories high, and in some of them there is a single story. Nobody paves the floor with marble except the Sultan.

Sheikh Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal says; this refers to the old houses of Delhi. As regard those which I describe, they are not like this. He says all cities to which at present the name Delhi is applied are twenty-one. On three sides are gardens in straight lines, each line twelve miles long. As regards the western side it is destitute of them on account of the proximity of the *hills*.[35] In Delhi there are one thousand madrasas out of which only one belongs to the *Shafites* and the rest to *Hanafites*. There are about seventy hospitals (bimaristan) which are called Dar-us-Shifa. In Delhi and its surroundings are Khanqahs and hospices numbering two thousand, big monasteries and extensive bazars and numerous baths. The water is supplied

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own-Jahanpanah which he had built by constructing a wall joining the two older cities of the Khaljis and the Tughluqs. To these four cities which Ibn-i-Batutah has mentioned, we might add Kilukhari of Kaikubad. His father, Balban, had also built for himself a palace called the Koshak-i-Lal, and Jalaluddin's palace was known as the Kushak-i-Sabz. Thus we see that Delhi was frequently changing sites and names in the early centuries of the Muslim rule in India and, they were all regarded as one big city, and Shihabuddin's narrator is not far from the truth when he makes this statement,

(*Vide* The Seven Cities of Delhi by G. Hearn, Chapter I, Sharp's Delhi,; History of Hindu Medieval India by C. V. Vidya III, p. 303; Ibn-i-Batutah, Chapter III, Maassirul Umara, Vol III, p. 447; Archaeological Survey Report for 1862-63; Barni, p. 176.

Amir Timur writes thus about Siri: "Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications, built of stone and brick and they are very strong" (Malfuzat-i-Timuri in Elliot III, p. 447).

35. The Ridge.

from wells dug near the watering places not deeper than seven fore-arms on which are hydraulic wheels. They drink rain-water which is collected in big reservoirs, the diameter of each of which is the distance of an arrow-shot or more.[36]

In Delhi is the *mosque*[37] famous for its *minaret*[38] the like of which is not as he says, on the surface of the

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36. This statement is corroborated by other contemporary and later writers. The two great reservoirs of rain-water used by the people were the Hauz-i-Shamsi of Iltutmish and Hauz-i-Alai or Hauz-i-Khas of Alauddin. Both these reservoirs were very huge and could supply water to the entire population of the capital. The Hauz-i-Shamsi was built in 627 A. H. (1229-30 A.D.) and is said to have originally covered more than a hundred acres of land (276 bighas) and was lined with sand-stone. The Hauz-i-Khas which was even bigger than Hauz-i-Shamsi was built by Alauddin Khalji. Sharfuddin Yazdi, the author of Zafarnamah says that "it is so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one end to the other. It is filled by rain-water in the rainy season aad all people of Delhi obtain water from it all the year round". (Zafarnamah Vol. I, p. 109), (Ibn-i-Batutah, Chapter III, Section 3, Asarus Sanadeed Part III, pp. 23, 27).

Carr Stephen's Archaeology of Delhi pp. 68-9, 83; Hearn's. The Seven Cities of Delhi 104, 189; Archaeological Survey of India Reports Vol. IV, 18, 65; XX, 157; List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments Vol. III, pp. 177, 66.

37. The Qutub Mosque, otherwise known as Masjid-i-Quwwatul Islam was built by Qutbuddin Aibak the first independent Muslim Sultan of Delhi. The inscription on the inner lintel of the eastern gateway gives the date of the conquest of the Fort and the construction of the Mosque as 587 A.H. and says that the materials of 27 temples were used for it. It takes the form of a large quadrangular court 142' by 108' enclosed by colonnades of grey stone, four pillars deep on the east side and three deep on the north and south, while on the west the prayer chamber of the mosque proper 147' by 40' contains five rows of pillars. The frontage of the prayer-chamber is formed by the great arched screen facade pierced by 5 arches, and is of red and yellow sand-stone elaborately carved with typically Hindu patterns and designs and with inscribed bands of naskh lettering." List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments, Delhi Province, Vol. III, p. 10.

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world on account of its height and elevation. Sheikh Burhanuddin al-Khallal-al-Bizi as Suli says that its height is *six hundred cubits* in the air. Sheikh Mubarak says: As regards the palaces of the Sultans and his mansions in Delhi, they are exclusively for his dwelling and the dwelling of his wives, his concubines and his eunuchs and apartments for servants and slaves (mamelukes). None of the Amirs and Khans live with him; and none of them stays there except when he is present on duty; then every one of them goes back to his own house. They are on duty twice every day in the morning and afternoon.

The Nobility.

The Amirs are arranged in the following classes; the highest of them have the rank of *Khans*, then *Maliks*, then *Amirs*, then *Sipahsalar*, then the *officers*.[39] In the service of the Sultan are eighty Khans or more, his army consists of 9,00,000 horsemen some of whom are at his court and others in the provinces. The Diwan of the Sultan provides them with their means of subsistence and all receive reward from him. The army consists of Turks, Khitais, Persians, and Indians. Among them there are Pehlwans and courtiers and people of different nationalities and classes.

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Considerable extensions were made by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1210-1236) and Alauddin Khalji (1295-1316). Ambitious as the Khalji Sultan was, he would dwarf the efforts of his predecessors by erecting magnificent buildings as much as he had done in the work of conquest and consolidation. His extensions almost doubled the area of the original mosque and Iltutmish's extensions and the Minar which he had begun was intended to be twice as big in diameter and height as the Qutb Minar was.

38. The Qutub Minar completed by Iltutmish.

39. *The Turkish Bureaucracy*:—The passage in Masalik-ul-Absar throws light on the bureaucratic character of the administration.

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All of them have branded horses,[40] excellent weapons and elegant appearance. The majority of the amirs and officers occupy themselves with fiqh and follow different mazhabs (Schools of Law); the people of India in general follow Abu Hanifa.

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The officers of State were divided on a decimal basis into different grades according to the number of soliders commanded by them. The fact of Importance in this connection is that these officers were not feudal barons in the sense in which feudalism is understood in Europe. They were in many cases slaves who had risen to high offices either through merit or by favour of the king. In some cases successful soldiers or officials rose to high position and were granted lands on condition of military service. The system of revenue assignation or grant of land in return for military service and the permission to raise troops was definitely put a stop to by Alauddin Khalji who created the first standing army of the State stationed at the Capital, payid by the royal exchequer and not scattered in the provinces. The same practice appears to have been followed and soldiers were paid separately and were not dependent upon the Khans or Maliks or Amirs. The salary was fixed by the State and provision made for its payment by the Diwan. The system outlined here is the fore-runner of the Mansabdari system introduced and elaborated by the Mughals.

The large number of slaves employed by the Sultans is the peculiar feature of Medieval Muslim rulers both in India and outside. The religious law of Islam gave no power of life and death or control of property to the Sultan over his officers. In case of a large empire important administrative charges and military campaigns had to be entrusted to the servants of the State. To secure complete obedience and absolute control over such persons they resorted to the slave system which gave such powers to the master over his slaves. These slaves therefore became the indispensable part of the state system. That was the Turkish device of creating human watch dogs to watch over human cattle. Under Feroz the number of slaves increased considerably with the result that they became difficult of control and ultimately contributed to the disintegration of the Tughulq empire by creating confusionwith the State.

40. The branding of horsees was started in the time of Alauddin Khalji and appears to have continued to the time of the Tughluqs. The branding of the horses was resorted to as a successful precaution against fraud. Alauddin was the first Muslim ruler in India to adopt it as a regular system. The Mughals also practised it and Abul Fazal has given the details of the process and marks which were branded on the body of the herses (*Vide* Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 139 and 155).

Elephants.

The Sultan has 3000 elephants which are covered in battle with iron trappings inlaid with gold. In times of peace they are covered with housing of silk brocade and different kinds of silk adorned with figures. They are adorned with canopy and seats overlaid with plates; and and wooden towers are fixed on them with nails and the Indians construct their seats for fighting. On an elephant are from 10 to 6 men according to the strength of the elephant.

Slaves.

The Sultan has 20,000 Turkish slaves. *Al-Bazzi* says: 10,000 eunuchs, 1,000 treasurers, 1,000 *Bashmaqdars*[41] 2,00,000 attendants, who wear weapons and march with the Sultan in front of him. No one of the khans, maliks, amirs or generals can raise troops for his service; fiefs are assigned to them as (stated) before as is the case in Egypt and Syria; rather every one of them is concerned with himself. The Sultan summons the soldiers to the service and their pays are given from his Diwan. All that is assigned to the Khan, Malik, Amir and Sipahsalar remains for his personal use.

The Hajibs,[42] the stipend-holders and officers of State belonging to the military class such as the khans, maliks, amirs, all have a rank which is proportionate to their position (or office).

As regards the Sipahsalars none of them is considered worthy of being near the Sultan. From amongst them only *walis* or similar officers are appointed.

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41. Bashmaqdar is a Turkish word with the Persian suffix *dar*. Bashmaq means "shoe" in Turkish, bashmaqdar is therefore one who is in charge of the shoes or horse-shoes of the Sultan Cf. Subh V. 459. In Turkish bashmaqliq is a kind of pin-money, a revenue assigned in Turkey to the mother of the Sultan from conquered cities or also imperial crown lands.

42. The Chief Hajib was the master of ceremonies at the Court and was assisted by a large number of hajibs.

The Khan has under him 10,000 riders, the malik 1000, the amir 100, the Sipahsalar less than that.

Allowances of the Officers.

As regards their allowances the Khans, maliks, amirs and Sipahsalars have territories which have been assigned to them by the Diwan, which if they are not increased are neither reduced. In general they yield much more than their estimated amount.

Every Khan has lakhs, a lakh being 100000 tankas, every tanka being 8 Dirhams. This is for their personal use. Nothing out of it is spent for his soldiers.

Every Malik has from 60,000 to 50,000 tankas; every Amir from 40,000 to 30,000 tankas, the Sipahsalar from 20,000 to something near it. As regards other officers, they have from 10,000 to 1,000 tankas. As regards the mamluks of the Sultan every slave has from 5,000 to 1,000 tankas and food, clothing and fodder for their beasts.

The soldiers and mamluks have no lands; they take their salary in cash from the treasury. As regards those that have lands the income of which is that what he says: At present if the yield of the territories which are assigned to them does not exceed the settled allowance, at least it is not less than that. There are some of them who realise twice as much as their estimated income or even more.

As regards the slaves every one of them has in every month two mann of wheat and rice as ration for them; and daily three seers of meat with what is necessary for him, and monthly ten white tankas and in every year four suits of clothes.

Kar Khanas.

This Sultan has an embroidery house in which 4,000 silk-workers who make different kinds of cloth for robes of honour and garments and gifts in addition to the stuff which is imported from China, Iraq and Alexandria The Sultan distributes every year 2,00,000 complete gar-

ments, namely 1,00,000 in spring and 1,00,000 in autumn. The garments, of spring are mostly from Alexandrian stuffs made in Alexandria; the garments of summer are all of silk made in the factory in Delhi and stuff from China and Iraq. He distributes (them) in Khanqahs and hospices.

The Sultan has 4,000 embroiderers who manufacture the brocades for the harem and manufacture things for his use which he bestows upon the officers of the state and presents (them) to their wives.

Every year he distributes 10,000 branded Arabian horses, some of them have saddles and reins; and others of Arabian breed have neither saddles nor reins. Those with saddles and reins are of different kinds; some are with trappingss others are decorated, then the trapping or decoration of some of them are of gold and of some of silver.

As regards the pack-horses which he presents, they are without number; he gives by herds and distributes by hundreds. Inspite of the large number of horses in the country and the large number which is imported he procures them from every side and pays generously for them the highest of prices. On account of the number which he gives in gifts and presents, they are high in price bringing profits to those who deal in them.

Ali bin Mansur al-Uqaili, one of the Amirs of the Arabs of Bahrain, who import horses to this Sultan, has narrated to me, that the people of this country have a mark known to them alone about horses. When they see it in a horse they buy it for what perhaps may be high price.

Na'ib or Amriya and other officers.

The Sultan has a lieutenant (na'ib) from amongst the Khans who is called Amriya[43]. His fief is nearly

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43. It is difficult to explain this word which does not occur in contemporary Indian accounts. The office corresponds to that of the

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as large a province as Iraq; and a wazir who has a fief like Iraq. The Sultan has four naibs of whom every one is called Shaqq[44]. Every one of them receives from 40,000 to 20,000 tankas. He has four *Dabirs* i.e. private secretaries (Katibus-sir) and every one of them has a city on the coast yielding large revenue. Everyone has about 300 scribes of whom the lowest and the less-paid has 10,000 tankas as salary. As regards the highest of

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(Continued from the previous page)

Naib-i-Sultanat or Naibul-Mulk or the Vakil of the Mughal times. The word naib literally means a lieutenant and it was frequently used in the sense of a deputy. We have, for instance, a hajib-Khas and a naib hajib-i-Khas, but as Omari's statement indicates, the naib held a separate office. This office was bestowed on a person, who commanded considerable influence and enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan. The contemporary historians speak of Malik Kafur as the naib of Sultan Alauddin Khalji; he is called Malik Naib by Barni and others. Ibn-i-Batuta speaks of Shamsuddin Iltutmish as the naib of Kutbuddin, Balban as the naib of Sultan Nasiruddin, Jalaluddin Feroz Shah as that of Kaikobad, and one could conclude from his words that Malikul Umara Fakhruddin Kotwal who was responsible for the accession of Kaikuobad, was the naib of Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban. The Naib's office therefore was specially conferred upon the most trustworthy and important official of the State.

We have not been able to make out the significance of the term Amriya. It is evident, however, that Omari has tried to explain the word naib with a term which was known to the people of the western countries.

44. Shaq probably stands for Shaqdar. According to Afif Mohd. bin Tughluq divided his empire into four Shaqs and an officer was appointed to each one of them. Firoz Tughlaq was appointed to one of these divisions according to Shams Siraj. Speaking of the port of Lahiri which was the biggest seaport in Sindh at that time, Ibn-i-Batutah says that the Sultan had placed it in the charge of Alaul Mulk Fasihuddin Khorasani. The total revenue of the port was 60 lakhs of dinars and Alaul Mulk was given 5 p.c. of this sum as his salary, that being the percentage, the traveller adds, which is usually given by the Sultan to his officials. According to this, the salary of the governor of Lahiri would amount to 3 lakhs of tankas.

them they have villages and estates and some of them have 50 villages. The *Sadr-i-Jahan*[45] and this is the designation of the *Qadi-ut-qudat* and he in our time is Kamaluddin bin Burhan, has ten villages, the income of which is about 60,000 tankas. And he is also called "Sadr-ul-Islam" and he is the highest amongst the naibs in judicial matters. *The Sheikh-ul-Islam*, i.e. the *Sheikhul-Shuyukh* has the same (income). The *Muhtasib* has one village, the income of which is above 8,000 tankas.

The Sultan has 1,200 physicians 10,000 falconers who ride on horses and carry the birds of prey for hunting; 3,000 beaters who drive the game in order to get it, 500 courtiers; 1,200 musicians besides his slave musicians numbering 1,000 specially for the purpose of teaching music, *1,000 poets of three languages; Arabic, Persian and Hindi,*[46] who were men of fine taste. His Diwan pays to all of them and presents are given to them. When the Sultan comes to know that one of the musicians has sung to somebody else he puts him to death. I have enquired from him about their salaries. He replied; I do not know their salaries except that some of the courtiers have two villages, others one and that every one of them has from 40,000, 30,000 to 20,000 tankas without taking into account the robes of honour, garments and provisions for subsistence.

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45. Sadri-Jahan or Qadi-ul-Quddat was the head of the Judicial department. The holder of this exceedingly important post was expected to be a man of considerable learning, wide scholarship and great wisdom. He also had in his charge the auqafs of the country (religious endowments).

Kamaluddin who was the Qadi-ul-Quddat of Mohd. bin Tughlak was a great scholar and came from the town of Hansi. Ibn-i-Batutah says that almost all his information about the history of the Sultans of Delhi was supplied by Kamaluddin. He had two brothers, Qutlugh Khan and Shamsuddin. The latter died on his pilgrimage to Mecca, but the former rose to a position of eminence under Sultan Mohd. bin. Tughlak. He was the teacher of the Sultan and was appointed by him to the important office of the governorship of Deogir or Daulatabad (*Vide* Ibn i-Batutah Chap. II. Sec. 8).

46. This is a remarkable testimony to the patronage of Hind poets by Muslim rulers.

Sheikh Mubarak says: The table cloth is spread for this Sultan at the time of audiences in the morning and the evening twice daily and 20,000 people from amongst the Khans, Maliks, Amirs, Sipahsalars and the notables of the army take their meals from it. As regards the private meals, 200 *Faqihs* are present with him at lunch and dinner to eat with him and to discuss in his presence.

Sheikh Mubarak said: Only persons of distinction from the army or those who are called for on urgent matters to his presence, are admitted to the *majlis* of this Sultan because of their great numbers. In the same way all the personal attendants from amongst the courtiers and musicians are not present at the private meetings except by turn. It is the same with the officials of the State such as dabirs, physicians and others who are present by turn. The poets are present on special occasions in the year, such as the, Ids,[1] other festivities, appearance of the month of Ramadhan and on the occasion on which the Sultans are congratulated or when they (poets) offer their eulogies.

The Army.

The affairs of the army in particular rather those of the people in general concern the Amriat. The affairs of the Faqihs and Ulamas settled in the country and those coming from outside, all of them are under the jurisdiction of Sadr-i-Jahan. The affairs of the Faqirs settled in the country and those coming from outside are under the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and ordinary travellers and ambassadors, the men of letters and the poets, settled in the country and those coming from outside are under the Dabirs, *i.e.*, the Private Secretaries.

The Chief Justice, *Abu Mohammad al-Hasan bin Mohammad al-Ghori al-Hanafi* has related to me that the Sultan Mohammad bin Tughluq Shah had deputed *Bighdan*, one of his private secretaries to *Sultan Abu Sa'id*[2] as messenger and sent 10,000,000 tankas with him

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1. The two Muslim festivals.

2. Abu Said—Ninth Mongolian Prince (Ilkhan) of Persia (1316-35) A.D.

that he might distribute them as alms in the sacred towns of Kufa, Iraq and other places. This *Bighdan* had evil intention and received this money with the intention of returning to his Majesty who had despatched him. When he arrived there the death of Abu Said had occurred. Then it was possible (to realize) what he had intended, and then he appeared in Baghdad and with him were about 500 horses for him and his companions. Then he turned to Damascus. He says: Then I came to know that he returned from there to Iraq and stayed in Baghdad and settled down there. I say: *Nizamuddin Abu'l Fadha'il Yahya bin al-Hakim* has related to me about the case of this man saying that he saw him in Damascus but he made no mention of the amount of the alms-money. Also *Shibli Multani and al-Bizzi* have narrated to me about him; although their words differ, yet their meaning is the same. Every one of them says that this *Bighdan* was one of the eminent scholars and was of excellent faith.

Sheikh Abu Bakar al-Bizzi says: This Sultan's commands are respected on account of the fear (in which he is held) and the world trembles on account of his army. He applies himself much to the affairs of his empire and to the affairs of the country and sits in person to dispense justice to his subjects.

Khoja Ahmad bin Khoja Omar bin Musafir says about him that he sits to read the petitions of his people in a general *Majlis* and nobody can enter who has weapons on him, not even a knife, except the Private Secretary, and no one else. Yet the Sultan is completely armed even with the quiver and bow and arrows; wherever he sits he does not leave his weapons. He says: This has always been his practice.

Sultan's Movements.

As regards the movements of this Sultan they are of different kinds: sometimes it is for war, sometimes it

is for moving within Delhi from one place to another, and sometimes within his palace. When he rides to war, it appears as if the mountains move and the sands are flowing and the seas overflow and the lightnings flash, and things *the lies of which the eyes believe*,[1] and which prevent the tongue from describing them; and on elephants are towers resembling a city or an inaccessible fortress and the eye sees nothing but dust raised by the beasts and darkness of a night stretched over the day.

Sultan's Banners.

The standards of the Sultan are black banners in the middle of which is a dragon of gold. Nobody else is entitled to carry a black banner except him. On the right wing he has black banners and on the left wing he has red banners on which are dragons of gold.

As regards the other Amirs every one carries what befits (his) rank. As regards the music instruments which are played for the Sultan when he is in residence or travel, they are played for him like Alexander the Great. There are 200 loads of drums, 40 loads of big tambours, 20 trumpets, 10 cymbals. Kettle drums are beaten for him five times also. Innumerable treasures and the like of it, such as incomparable led-horses are taken out with him.

As regards hunting, he goes out with a small escort of not more than 1,00,000 riders and 200 elephants are with him. He carries with him four pavilions of wood on 800 camels. Every pavilion is on 200 camels all of which are covered with trappings of black silk embroidered with gold. Every pavilion has two storeys besides the tents and *Kharagahs*.

When he moves from one place to another for pleasure or for a similar purpose about 30,000 horsemen are with him and this is the custom in the case of elephants, 1000 horses led by hand with saddles and reins, some of

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1. This is a literal translation of a passage of which the meaning is obscure.

them being caparisoned in gold cloth are decked and have necklaces while others are decked with gems and saphires. As regards his riding in his palace, *Sheikh Mohammad al-Khujandi* who stayed in Delhi and took service in the army there told me that he had seen him when he went from one palace to another. He was riding while over his head there was an *umbrella* and the Silahdars were behind him carrying weapons in their hands, and round him about 12,000 mamelukes all of them on foot; no rider was among them except he who carried the *umbrella* and the Silahdars and Jamadars, the bearers of the garments. *Sheikh Mubarak* told me that this Sultan has over his head an *umbrella* when he rides, but when he goes for war or on long journeys, seven *chattars* are held over his head of which two are set with gems; the value of those two *chattars* cannot be estimated. And for his throne is pomp, grandeur and royal laws, and rules the like of which no one had except Alexander the Great or Malik Shah bin Alp. Arslan.

As regards the Khans, Maliks and Amirs everyone of them rides with banners when travelling or in the place of his residence. The Khan can carry at most nine banners and the smallest number which the Amir can carry is three. The highest number which the Khan can have when in residence is ten led-horses and the highest that the Amir can have when in residence is two. When in travel everyone of those can have as many as he can afford according to his liberality and generosity. In spite of it when they approach the palace of the Sultan they humble themselves because his sun obliterates their stars and his sea swallows up their rain-bearing clouds. This Sultan, withal that, is generous,[47] beneficient and humble to God the Almighty,

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47. Sultan Mohammad bin Tughluq's lavish gifts are mentioned by almost all the contemporary writers. Barni, by no means a favourable critic

(Continued on next page).

Abu as-Safa Omar bin Ishan ash-Shibli has narrated to me that he saw the Sultan going to the funeral of a pious faqir[48] who had died and carrying his bier on his shoulders. He has numerous accomplishments; knows the Book of God by heart and the Hidaya on the Madhab of Abu Hanifa and distinguishes himself in rationalism, writes a beautiful hand, is steadfast in religious practices, in abstemiousness and good conduct. He recites and composes verses, likes other people reciting these and understands their meaning. He enters into discussions with men of letters and discusses with eminent scholars and criticises in particular the poets in Persian, for he comprehends the intricacies of its figures of speech and understands the subtleties of poetry.

(Continued from the previous page).

of the Sultan is very eloquent in describing his acts of generosity and quotes the names of several persons who were the recipients of these awards. Similarly, Ibn-i-Batutah corroborates the historians and relates stories which are almost incredible. Even Ibn-i-Khaldun found it difficult to accept his statements in respect to these gifts and rewards The Sultan was more liberal in his gifts to the foreigners than to his own countrymen.

(*Vide* Barni, pp. 461-63; Ibn-i-Batutah; Chap V. Sect. 10-16).

48. This statement is corroborated by Ibn-i-Batutah the saint being Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia (*Vide* Defremery, III, 211). But the Moorish traveller has drawn a wrong conclusion from this incident for, he asserts that it was one of the causes of the estrangement between Muhammad bin Tughluq and his father. This would place the death of the Shaikh before that of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq which is wrong. The Shaikh died on 18th Rabi-us-Sani, 725. (*Vide* Seirul Aulia p. 155; Ferishta, Bom. ed. Vol. II p. 745), while the accidental death of the Sultan occurred in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 725 A. H. (*Vide* Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p. 96). Evidently, then, it was as a Sultan as related by Shihabuddin's narrator Abu as Safa Omar who was an eye-witness, that Muhammad bin Tughluq carried the saint's bier on his shoulders, and not as a prince as is asserted by Ibn-i-Batutah who seems to have based his information on hearsay evidence.

For a detailed discussion of the date of Ghiasuddin Tughluq's death see S. Moinul Haq's article entitled, 'Was Mohd. bin Tughluq a Parricide?' Muslim University Journal, 1939.

He says: I have heard him discussing the significance of the superiority of the past over the present from every point of view. For they said that the superiority is either in point of time or in degree or in its essence and this is not possible that it consists in one of these categories and he made them acknowledge that their argument was unsound in this because the past is superior not by reason of one of these. He said: I have seen him discussing different subjects with all those who were present in spite of the considerable number of scholars. He said: The Ulama are present in his *majlis* and have *Iftar*[1] with him in the month of Ramadhan.[2] The Sadr-i-Jihan invites every night one of those who are present to raise a point for discussion; then all of them discuss the different aspects of the question in the presence of the Sultan, and he, like one of them, discusses with them and refutes them.

He is one who does not permit the prohibited actions, nor lets anyone (have) of forbidden things and none dare commit openly in the country unlawful acts and most sternly he forbids the use of wine and enforces legal punishment for it and goes to the extremes of punishment for those of his courtiers who are addicted to it. *Syed as-Sharif Tajuddin Abu'l-Mujahid al-Hasan-as-Samarqandi* has related to me that one of the highest Khans in Delhi used to drink wine and was addicted to it and persisted in the use of it, while the Sultan forbade it, but he did not abstain from it. This Sultan became very angry with him, imprisoned him and confiscated his property. All that was found with him amounted to 43,700,000 *mithqal*[3] of gold. This story shows amply the exaggeration of the Sultan in disapproving the bad action and the extreme wealth of this country. When this amount is

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1. First meal at the close of the day of fasting.

2. The ninth month of the Muslim year which is the month of fasting from dawn to sunset each day.

3. A weight current in Islamic countries equal to 1 dram and three-seventh.

counted in Egyptian *Qantars* it makes *43,700 gold Qantars.*

The same *Sharif Hasan as-Samarqandi,* and he is one who has related to me about the wealth of this country and things like this or similar to it which perplex the senses.

The Generosity of the Sultan.

The acts of the generosity and charity of the Sultan are such that the world should write them on pages of its record of good deeds and the people inscribe them in .....[1] I heard from him the accounts which I have collected and I did not know their details till Sheikh Mubarak related to me that this Sultan gave two lakhs in alms every day and not less than that. In Egyptian money this would be 160,000 Dirhams every day. On certain days his alms reach 50 lakhs and it is his continual and invariable custom to give in alms 2 lakhs at the visibility of every new moon in every month. And he has taken upon him to provide for 40,000 poor. Everyone of them receives daily one Dirham and five *rital* of bread of wheat or rice. In the *maktabs*[2] thousands of *faqihs* are appointed whose allowances are paid by the Diwan. They teach the orphans and the children of the people *qirat*[3] and writing. He does not permit a beggar in Delhi to beg from the people; on the other hand everyone who begs is prohibited from doing so and he receives from him a similar amount as the *faqirs* receive.

As regards his benefactions towards the strangers and those who look up to him for assistance, this passes beyond credulity. The learned scholar *Nizamuddin Abu'l-Fadba'il Yahya bin al-Hakim al-Tayyari* has related to me the following: With us in the army in the service of the Sultan Abu Sa'id was a man named

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1. The word could not be deciphered.
2. School.
3. Method of reciting the Quran.

Adhad bin Qadi Yezd. He aspired for the *Wizarat* without possessing the ability for it; yet being counted as a rival he created division amongst the wazirs and raised rebellion in the army. So they agreed to remove him and send him as a messenger to Delhi with a letter the contents of which were greetings and love and questions and inquiries. They did this evidently to remove him, but their intention was that he should not return. When he reached Delhi and presented himself before this Sultan and handed over the letter, the Sultan welcomed him and presented him a robe of honour, and gifts and let him stay by his side in a wide and spacious dwelling and gave him a large amount of wealth. Then when he wanted to return to him who had sent him, the Sultan said to him: "Enter my treasury and take whatever you wish". This *Adhad* was a shrewd man. When he entered the treasury he did not take anything but a copy of the Holy Book. The Sultan heard this and was astonished and asked: "Why have you taken nothing except this Holy Book". He replied: "The Sultan has rendered me wealthy by his favour and I did not find anything nobler than the Book of God". The Sultan's astonishment was increased by his action and his words and he gave him considerable money, some of it was for him specially and some for Abu Sa'id by way of presents. The total amount of the presents for Abu Sa'id and for him was 800 Tuman, a Tuman being 10,000 Dinars[1] current, a Dinar being six Dirhams so that this amount comes to 8 millions current dinars or 48 million Dirhams.[2] When *Adhad* returned with this huge wealth he feared that it will be taken away from him by the army. So he divided it in parts and concealed it from the eyes of the soldiers. *Amir Ahmad bin Khwaja Rashid*, and he was the brother of the wazir, was involved in a matter which resulted in his expulsion from the army and he was shown consideration on account of the position of his brother

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1. A gold coin worth about 10 shillings.
2. A silver coin.

Ghyasuddin Mohammad[49] and it was written to him that he was given the title of *Amir-al-ilkah* and the meaning of it is that he was superior to the governors of the provinces where he alighted. On his way, he met *Syed Adhad* and he gave him much wealth. It is probable that he got made from that a number of loads of vases of gold and silver in order to present them to Abu Sa'id and his ladies and he expected to receive a summon to return to the army. But death overtook him quickly, and then Abu Sa'id died and also *Adhad.* The time passed, the gold disappeared and that what he had acquired rendered nobody wealthy.

Ibn Hakam says: The liberality of this Sultan, the ruler of Delhi, is extraordinary and his benefaction to foreigners is great. A learned scholar from Persia came to him and presented him philosophical books among which there was the "*Shifa*" by *Ibn Sina.*[1] It happened that as he stood before him a great load of precious gems was brought and presented to him. He took a

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49. Rashiduddin Fadlullah, the well-known scholar and wazir of the Ilkhani Mongols of Persia was born in 1247 at Hamadan. He was a court physician in the reign of Abaka but in 1298 was chosen by Ghazan. conjointly with Sa'duddin, to succeed Sadr-i-Jahan Sa'duddin Zanjani as Prime Minister. In the reign of Uljaytu (Khuda Banda) he continued to enjoy the same favour. In 1312 his colleague, Sa'duddin, fell from power and was killed in consequence of an intrigue, Ali Shah the prime mover of the intrigue now became Rashiduddin's colleague. Ali Shah soon started a campaign of calumny against his colleague and their rivalry continued after the death of Uljaytu and accession of Abu Said. In October, 1317 he was deprived of his office and in July of the following year he was executed along with his young son Ibrahim on a charge of poisoning Uljaytu. Of his many works on a variety of subjects, one of the most important is the monumental *Jami-ut-Tawarikh.* It was completed about 1310 or 1311 A. D.Of his fourteen sons, Ghyasuddin who resembled his father in his virtues and talents, rose to the dignity of Premiership and met like his father a tragic end when he was put to death in 1336 A. D.

1. Avicenna Abu Ali Al-Husaini Ibn Abdullah (980-1037 AD.).

handful from them for presenting them to him. They were (worth) 20,000 *mithqals* of gold. This besides other things he bestowed upon him. *Sharif as-Samarqandi* has related to me that the people of Bukhara came to him with yellow melons which remained with them during winter, and he gave them a large gift. He says further: one of the inhabitants whom I knew, carried to him two loads of melons. The greater part of them went bad, so that he could present only twenty-two melons. The Sultan gave him 3,000 *mithqals* of gold.

Sheikh Abu Bakr bin Abul-Hasan al-Multani known as Ibn at-Taj al-Hafiz related: This is what we learned in Multan and what was current news there among us. I travelled to Delhi and stayed there and found this also current there that this Sultan made it obligatory on himself that he would not open his hand to give gifts of less than 3,000 *mithqals*. *Al-Khujandi* has related to me saying: I betook myself to him and entered his service. He bestowed upon me 1,000 gold *mithqals* Then he asked whether I wanted to stay or to return home. I said: I prefer staying here. Then he appointed me in the army.

Sheikh Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal al-Bizzi as Sufi related to me saying: This Sultan sent a party of which I was one with 3 lakhs of gold to the country of Transoxiana to distribute one lakh among the learned men, to give another one to the poor as alms and to make purchases for him with the third lakh. The relator says: The Sultan said: I have heard that the *Sheikh Burhanuddin as-Saghirji* (Sheikh of Samarqand) who distinguishes himself in erudition and asceticism cannot hoard money. Give him 40,000 *tankas* so that he may travel to Multan. Then when he enters our country we bestow upon him wealth bountifully. If you do not find him give this amount to his family that they may give it to him on his return. They should inform him that we invite

him to come to Multan. *Sheikh Burhanuddin* continues: When we reached Samarqand we found him gone to China; so we gave the money to his slave-girl and informed her that the Sultan longed for him and loved to call him.

The jurist *Abul Fadhail Omar bin Ishaq ash-Shibli* narrated to me that this Sultan does not leave the company of learned men[50] whether in travel or in residence. He says: We were with him in one of his conquests. When we were on the way news of the victory reached him from the advance guard while we were in his presence. Then a joy befell him and he said: This is due to the blessing of those Ulama. Then he ordered them to enter the public treasury and they carried away as much wealth as they could. Those who were weak amongst them appointed a substitute who carried this wealth for them. The narrator continues, "They entered the treasury, but I did not enter, nor did many of my peers because we did not belong to that group. Every

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50. Barni mentions incidentally that the Sultan was keenly interested in the society of the philosophers, but they did not belong to the orthodox school. This statement cannot be accepted without reservation. Mohammad bin Tughluq was a staunch follower of the tenets of Islam and acted upon the advice of the scholars and *muftis* in awarding punishments to the offenders. Unlike Alauddin Khalji he was anxious to see that he did not deviate from the path of the *Shariat* in his private life and public transactions, and insisted on others to follow the same path. He respected piety and learning but did not show much regard to birth. Barni's verdict is based on a prejudice against him and is, therefore, self-contradictory. Shihabuddin's narrator is far more correct in his statement than this contemporary historian who could not appreciate the stern and almost cynical sense of justice of the Sultan which led him on the one hand to appear in person before a court to answer for a charge of injustice and on the other to order the execution of some of the most influential Sheikhs, Ulamas and Amirs. A careful study of Barni's account of Mohammad bin Tughluq would reveal the circumstances which had mortally prejudiced his opinion against his master.

one of those carried away two purses, each one containing 10,000 *dirhams*. But one of them carried three purses, two beneath his armpit, the other one on his head When the Sultan saw them, he laughed in astonishment at the avarice of him who carried three. He (Sultan) asked about the rest of the persons and those who had not entered like me. It was said to him that these were below those because those were professors and these were assistants. He then ordered 10,000 *dirhams* to be given to everyone of them, and they were distributed among us. The narrator continues: the beacon of *shariat*, (Muslim Law) is standing on account of him and love for men of letters is found with him. They are shown honour and veneration. They exert to the highest to preserve that by which their reputation is established, by improving their mind and their appearance and in persevering in studying and in imparting knowledge, and right deliberation in all matters and moderation in all their affairs.

His Holy Wars.

This Sultan is not slow in waging Holy[51] War (*Jihad*).

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51. The contemporary writers do not give us any detailed information of the missionary activities of the Sultan and it is difficult, therefore, to have any definite idea of the extent to which he succeeded in converting the Indians in any part of the country to Islam. In *Seir ul Aulia* however, we read how the Sultan wanted Maulana Shamsuddin Yahya to go to Kashmir and preach Islam. It was a part of his policy to shift about the leading mystics and scholars and send them to places newly conquered or where the light of Islam had not yet reached. But the scholar died and the Sultan's wishes could not be carried out. Again Barni when describing the evacuation of Delhi, says that the Sultan brought the Ulema and other notables from the provincial towns to Delhi obviously with the object of retaining the glory and prosperity of that city even after the transfer of the capital to Daulatabad. (*Vide* Seirul Aulia, p. 228, 278-81, Barni, p. 474).

After the famous expedition to the Qarajil hills an embassy from China waited on the Sultan and sought permission to repair Buddhist temples and idols which had been destroyed round about Sambhal. The Sultan did not accord this permission for he insisted on the Chinese accepting the position of the *Zimmis*.

In the holy war by land or by sea his bridle or his spear do not deviate (from it). This is the sole object which engages his eye and his ear. He has spent a large amount in exalting the word of the Faith and in spreading Islam in these regions, so that the light of Islam was spread in these parts and the lightning of the true guidance flashed in these regions and the fire-temples were destroyed and the Buddha's statues and idols were broken and the land was freed from those who were not (included) in the land of security, that is, those who had not entered the contract of a *Zimmis* and through him Islam was spread up to the farthest East, and reached up to where the Sun rises, and he carried the banners of the Islamic people as *Abu Nasr al-Aini* says, to where never a banner had reached and no chapter *surat* or verse (*ayat*) was read of the Quran. Then he built mosques and places of worship and replaced music by prayer-call and silenced the mumblings of the Magians by the recitation of the Quran, and he directed the people of this faith (Islam against the fortresses of the infidels. And he has appointed them with the help of God as the heirs of their property and their lands and the country which they had never trodden under foot: land after land was placed under the banner of this Sultan. On land his banners are like eagles and on sea the banners are like the crows of the running ships, so that no day passes without the sale of thousands of slaves for the lowest prices on account of the great number of captives and prisoners.

Slaves.

Everyone of these (narrators) has related to me that the price of a slave girl[52] does not exceed eight *tankas*

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52. It appears that the prices of slave girls and slaves were slightly higher in the time of Alauddin Khalji. Barni mentions the following prices:—

Serving girl	5 to 12 *tankas.*
Concubine	20 to 30 or 40 *tankas.*
Male slave	100 or 200 *tankas* or less,

in Delhi and those who are fit for service as well as concubinage cost fifteen *tankas*. But outside Delhi they are still cheaper.

Abu'l Fadh il Omar bin Ishaq ash-Shibli said to me that he bought a coquetish boy of adolescent age as slave for four *dirhams*, and guess (the prices of other slaves) accordingly. He continued: In spits of the low price of slaves one finds also Indian slave girls whose price amounts to 20,000 *tankas* or even more.

Ibn at-Taj al-Hafiz al-Multani said to me: I asked how a slave girl could reach this price in spite of the cheapness (in the country). Each one of them informed me severally in interviews that the difference was caused by the grace of her deportment or the refinement of her manners and that a great number of these slave girls knew the Quran by heart, they could write, recite verses and stories, excelled in music, played the lute and chess and backgammon (nard) and so on. The slave girls take pride in things like these. One of them says: I shall capture the heart of my master within three days; the other says: I shall captiviate his heart in one day, a third says: I shall captiviate his heart in an hour, another says I shall captiviate his heart in the twinkling of an eye. They say that the pretty Indian girls are superior as regards beauty to those of the Turks and Qipchaks besides their good breeding, manifold accomplishments and attainments which give them distinction. Most of them are of golden colour, some of them are of brilliant whiteness mixed with red. In spite of the great number of Turks and Qipchaks and Byzantines and other nationalities that are there everyone gives preference to none but the Indian pretty girls on account of their perfect beauty and sweetness and other things which words cannot describe.

Sultan's Gifts.

Sirajuddin Omar ash-Shibli related to me that nobody

wore cotton-cloth which is imported to this country from Russia and Alexandria but those whom the Sultan supplies the dresses. As regards their gowns and dresses they are made of fine cotton. He said: From it clothes are made which resemble the garments of Baghdad. But the garments of Baghdad as well as the *Nasafi*[1] are different from them by reason of their fineness and the beauty of their look. Some of them are like the muslins on account of their fineness together with their purity and quality.

Sheikh Mubarak has related to me: Nobody can dress and ride with saddles covered or embroidered with gold except he upon whom the Sultan has bestowed them. When he has bestowed upon some one something embroidered with gold, then he is allowed to use it whenever he likes. As regards riding in general the saddle is covered or embroidered in silk.

He said: The Sultan bestows upon those who are in his service according to their different classes from amongst the masters of the sword, the pen, and of learning nice things of every description and valuable fiefs, wealth, gems, horses, saddles embellished with gold, golden girdles, stuffs of different kinds and qualities except elephants. They are only meant for him and no one of his subjects can share (the use of them) with him. Huge sums are spent on the fodder of the elephants. Perhaps for these 3000 elephants nothing less than the revenue of a big province would suffice. When I asked him about the amount, he replied: The elephants vary in kind and appearance, and their fodder varies with these differences. I can tell you the greatest and the lowest amount that an elephant requires daily. The greatest amount that he requires daily is 40 ritl of rice, 60 ritl of barley, 50 ritl of fat and half a load of hay. As regards their keepers and attendants they are many in numbers and have plenty of work. The Prefect of the

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1. Nasafi—A kind of Egyptian stuff, half silken and half-cloth.

elephants is an influential person among the high State officials. Shibli said: His fief is equal to a big province like Iraq.

Disposition of the army on the Battlefield.

The order followed by the kings of this country when they go to war is that the Sultan stands in the centre and round him the religious men and men of letters. The archers are in the front and in the rear; the right and left wings are streched so that the two wings of the army are joined. Before him are the elephants covered with iron harnesses and carrying towers in which the soldiers are hidden as we have already mentioned. In the towers are holes for shooting arrows and throwing naphta-bottles. In front of the elephants are slaves who march in light armour with swords and weapons. They make way for the elephants, they hamstring the horses with the swords while the archers in the towers survey them from behind, and from above, while the horsemen are on the right and the left wing. The flanks of the army surround the enemies and fight round the elephants and behind them and a fleeing man does not find a cave or an entrance.[1] And hardly can one escape from them because encircling troops surround them and arrows and naphta come from above, and the foot-men snatch them from below. So death comes to them from every place and the misfortune surrounds them from every side.

This Sultan who is ruling at present there has obtained what no one of the kings of this country before him had obtained—victories, supremacy, conquests of the countries, destruction of the foundations of the infidels, unfastening the knot of the magicians and has dostroyed the images and idols with which the Indians vainly deluded themselves. Scarcely any remained but a small

1. That is, he can find no way of escape.

number of those who were scattered over seas and they without any authority. This Sultan is not tired till he completes it and cleanses with the sword whatever remains of it. His hands diffuse over India perfumes of his renown which are sweeter than those of this country and embelish his age with things of greater value than her precious stones. It is he who to-day unites the extremities of these zones and takes hold of the girdle of the deserts and seas. Nowadays when mention is made of the Sultan of India it is only he who is meant and this noble name is only applied to him.

Shibli said: It is a duty laid upon a Muslim to pray to God for this Sultan for his Holy War. Such is his beneficience and his natural disposition.

Public Audiences.

Mohammad al-Khujandi told me that this Sultan has in every week a day for the public[53] when he gives a public audience and this is Tuesday. He sits in a very spacious courtyard in which big royal canopy is set up for him. He sits in the centre of it on a high throne

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53. Perhaps this was the same which Ibn-i-Batutah calls as the Court of Justice. But he differs from Khujandi's account in minor details. The Sultan, he says, holds the court "twice every week, *i.e.* Monday and Thursday, in an open courtyard in front of the palace. (Diwan Khana) and there are present before him only four persons namely Amir Hajib, Khas Hajib, Syedul Hujjab and Sharif ul Hujjab, and everybody is permitted to make whatever complaint he has. The four Amirs had been posted at four different gates to take down the complaints of these complainants, the fourth being Malik Feroz, the Sultan's cousin. In case the complaint was not taken down by any of these four Amirs the man would go to Sadr-i-Jahan and if he did not succeed even then he had the permission to approach the Sultan in person, who reprimanded his officers for not taking down his complaints. The Sultan read these complaints after his Isha prayers." (Ibni Batutah, Chap. V. Sec. 21).

This practice of setting apart a day for judicial work was followed by the Mughal Emperors.

plated with gold and embellished with gems. The officers of State stand round him on the right and the left hand, behind him the *silahdars* and *jamadars* and those who occupy a rank among the functionaries attached to the person of the king and the office-holders according to their position. Nobody sits in his presence except the Khans,[54] the Sadrijahan and the *Dabiran*, (*i.e.* the private Secretaries) while the Chamberlains (*hujjab*) keep standing. A public crier cries out, "He who has a complaint should come forward". Then everyone who has a complaint to make or something to ask of the Sultan comes forward. When he comes forward or stands in front of the Sultan he is not violently handled or obstructed till he has finished his complaint and the Sultan gives his orders about him. As regards other days he holds his audience in the morning and the evening[55] and rides accompanied by all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs to his palace. It is his custom that nobody enters his presence with weapons, not even with a small knife. Everyone who comes to him is examined before he enters and to reach the place where the Sultan sits, one has to pass seven doors one after the other. At the outer door is a man with a trumpet. When a Khan or Malik or a great Amir comes, he blows the horn intimating to the Sultan that a great man had arrived so that he is always on the alert and is prepared. Those whom he has summoned to come, who ever they may be, dismount at the first outer door[56] and walk till they

54. Ibn-i-Batutah says that in a public durbar nobody sits before the Sultan and does not mention that the Khans, the Sadr-i-Jahan and the Dabirs are allowed to sit. (Chap. V, Sec. 4)

55. According to Ibn-i-Batutah the usual time for this durbar was after *Asr* prayers, but sometimes it was held before noon also (Chap. V, Sec. 4).

56. The account of the court of justice is, like many other passages of unique importance for the students of history. No comtemporary

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enter the seventh door to the presence of His Majesty the Sultan. Then there are those who are honoured by the permission to pass riding up to the sixth door while the horn is continually blowing till the visitor comes near the seventh door. At this door all who have entered sit till they are assembled. When the visitors have all come they are allowed to enter. When they have entered those who are entitled to sit take their seat round him while the others keep standing. The judges, wazirs and *Dabiran, i.e.* the private secretaries sit in a place where the eye of the Sultan does not fall upon them. The tablecloths are spread and the Chamberlains bring the petitions. Every class of people have a Chamberlain[57] who presents their cases and requests to his (Sultan's) hand. All the Chamberlains bring the cases to the Chief Chamberlain and he is the *Hajib-i-Khas* who is superior to all of them, and he presents them to the Sultan. When the Sultan leaves, the Chief Chamberlain sits with the private Secretary and makes over to him the petitions with that which the Sultan has ordered about them and he executes them.

Then when the Sultan goes from the *majlis* he sits in a private audience and he invites the Ulama, and

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writer except Ibn-i-Batutah has described this procedure in detail and even the Moorish traveller has devoted only a short paragraph to this topic. It is clear from this passage that the Sultan was extremely anxious to dispense justice in person and wanted to justify the title of Adil (Just) that he had taken. It was in pursuance of this anxiety to see that justice was done to his people that he had created a new office of Amir-dad and had appointed his brother Mubarak to that office. His main duty was to see that even the greatest of nobles and officials were brought before the court for their offences.

57. Sharif Mazandrani who was sent by Khwaja i Jahan, the wazir, to receive him at Masudabad, was the hajib of the foreigners (travellers coming from other countries). This shows that separate hajibs were provided for different classes of men. (*Vide* Chap, II, Sec. 9).

there are present those whose custom it is (to be present). Then he sits with them, is friendly with them, and eats and talks and they are his confidants. Then he orders them to go and he is alone with the courtiers and singers: sometimes they relate stories, sometimes they sing to him, but in every case, in these public gatherings and in privacy he is exceedingly chaste and pure. He controls himself in action and in repose, and fears God in secret and in public; he does not commit a prohibited thing and does not yield to it.[58]

Prohibition of Wine: the Betel.

Shibli told me that wine is not found in Delhi either in public or in secret because this sovereign is so severe against it and dislikes those who are addicted to it. Further the narrator continues: the Indians have no inclination for wine and alcoholic drinks, and content themselves with betel and this is permitted, and is agreeable without doubt and possesses qualities some of which are not found in wine. It perfumes the breath, promotes the digestion, cheers up the soul immensely and imparts extraordinary joy along with strengthening the intellect and clarifying the memory and is delightful in taste. As regards its components it is the leaf of betel, and betel-nut and lime which are specially prepared. He said: the people of this country do not consider an honour greater than this. When a man becomes the guest of another and honours him with all sorts of meals and roasts and sweets and drinks and perfumes and aromatics and he does not present along with them betel, it would not be considered for him an

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58. This remark is corroborated by other writers as well. Barni and other historians maintain that Sultan Muhammad was very particular about acting upon the laws of the Shariat. He would offer prayers with the congregation and avoided all that was prohibited by law. He never took any intoxicants (*Vide* Barni, p. 460, Ferishta, Bom. ed. I, 237).

honour and he would not be considered to have honoured him. Likewise when a highly placed person wants to show regard to another, he offers him betel.[59] I say: this is similar to the *Musk-alayaq* in the countries of the children of Chingiz Khan *Alayaq* is a glass of wine or datewine, which the great man takes hold of for him whom he wants to honour or a man to w om he wants to show devotion and this is the highest form of devotion in their opinion. By the will of God this will be mentioned in its place.

The Spies and the Postal Arrangements.

The learned scholar *Sirajuddin Abu'l Safa Omar ash-Shibli* has related to me that this Sultan is well informed about the happenings in his provinces and country and the state of affairs of that what is round him in respect of his armies and subjects and that he has persons who are called informers. They are divided into different classes; some of them mix with the army and some with the people. When one of them comes to know something, the transmission of which to the Sultan is necessary, he transmits it to the higher one. Then this transmitter transmits it to one above him, then the highest to the Sultan.[60]

As regards the informations from the far-off districts there are between his Majesty the Sultan and the principal provinces, places near each other which resemble the post-stations in Egypt and Syria, but these

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59. Cf. Ibn-i-Batutah who says that the Sultan offered a betel to Amir Ghiasuddin, a descendent of the Abbasi Khalifa, "and this was the greatest regard shown him, for the king does not offer a betel to any one with his own hand". (Ibn-i-Batutah, Chap. V, Sec. 15).

60. This refers to the system of espionage which is indeed a very old institution not only in this country but in other parts of the world as well. Nizamul Mulk, the well-known author of the Siasat Namah devotes a chapter to this institution and has emphasized its advantages and usefulness.

places are nearer in distance; between one place and the other there is a distance of four bow-shots or less than it. At every place ten runners who are swift in running carry the letters between this place and the next one. When one of them has received the letter he runs with the utmost possible speed till he reaches the next one. He runs with it in the same way as the first to the next place and the courier returns with ease to his place. So the letter reaches from one remote place to another remote place in the shortest time, quicker than by post or horses of good breed.[61]

He continues: In each one of the chief places there are mosques in which the prayers can be paid and the travellers rest, and there are water tanks for drinking, and markets to purchase food for men and animals. So one hardly needs to carry water or provisions for travel or a tent. He continues: And by the kindness of the Sultan

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61 Ibn-i-Batutah's description of the road from Delhi to Daulatabad corroborates this statement. "The distance between Daulatabad and Delhi consists of forty stages. The traveller feels as if he is walking in a huge park. There are three postal chaukis to every kroh, which I have already mentioned and all that a traveller needs can be had at these chaukis as if he is passing through a bazar. The road continues in the same way up to the countries of Telingana and Maaber, which is at a distance of six months from Delhi. At every stage there is a government resting house and a sarai for the travellers. They need not take with them any provisions for the way". (Ibn-i-Batutah, Chap. IV, Sec. II).

The account of Ibn-i-Batutah tallies with this passage except in some slight details. He says that post was carried by a relay of horses as well as of men, the former was called 'Ulaq'. As regards the relays of men, they had three in every Kroh three, postal stations which they called dhawa. According to Ibn-i-Batutah the runner takes the letters etc., in one hand and a stick tied with ringing bells in the other. The ringing of the bells prepares the runner of the next stage and no time is lost in passing the letters on to the other person. This, he says, was a faster method of sending letters than the horse service. (For further references see Qalqashandi, p. 77).

drums have been placed in the places which are established for the transmission of information between the two capitals of his country, namely, Delhi and Deogir). Whenever he is in a city and the gates of the other city is opened or closed, the drum is beaten.[62] When the neighbouring one hears it he beats the drum so that the information for opening the city from which he is absent, and for shutting it is conveyed during the time of his presence (Sultan) every day by the beat of the drum.

Sultan's Accessibility.

This Sultan enjoys a respect on account of which the hearts render him submission in spite of his familiarity with the people and his softness of speech and conversation. Everyone who wants to approach him can reach him. Neither the greatness of the Chamberlains nor their curtains can keep him back. God has rendered plentiful in his days the riches and increased the material possessions and multiplied the prosperity as India has always been famous for the affluence of life and known for generosity and munificence.

Cheapness of Prices.

Khujandi has related to me the following: I and three of my friends ate in some district of Delhi beef,

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62. Exactly in the same manner Sher Shah had his hours of meal announced in his empire by means of drums. We give a translation of a passage from Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh. "He had sarais built at every two krohs from Bengal to Rohtas in the Punjab, a distance of 1500 krohs. To each of these sarais two horses (known as dak chauki horses) were assigned so that news could reach Rohtas from Bengal in two or three days only. It was the practice that when the table was laid for Sher Shah in his palace they beat the drums, and the sarais being very near each other, in the twinkling of an eye people knew of it in all the sarais from Bengal to Rohtas and other public highways and beat their drums accordingly. Thus at that very hour they distributed food to the Mussalman travellers in all the sarais and flour and ghee to the Hindus". (Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh ed. by M. Zafar Haasn Sahib, Delhi, p. 323).

bread and butter for one *jital* till we were satiated, and all this for four *fulus*.

Coins, Measures, and Weights.

I shall speak now of the coins, measures and weights (mu'amalat), then of the prices because they are based on these and known in terms of them. *Sheikh Mubarak* related to me: the "red tanka" is equal to three *mithqals* and the white tanka, namely the silver tanga has eight *hashtgani-dirhams*. This *hashtgani-dirham* has the weight of the silver *Dirham* which is current in Egypt and Syria. Its value is the same as that and there is hardly a difference between them. This *hashtgani-Dirham* has four *Sultani-Dirhams* and it is called *dogani*. *This Sultani-dirham* comes to one-third of the *shashtgani-dirhams* and this is a kind of money which is used in India. Its value is three-quarter of the *hashtgani-dirham*. The half of this *Sultani-dirham* is called *yegani* and is one jital. Another dirham is called *dawazdehgani* the value of which is one and a half *hashtgani-dirham*. Another *dirham* is called *shanzdehgani* the value of which corresponds to two *dirhams* In these days the *dirhams* of India are six: *Shanzdehgani, dawazdehgani, hashtgani, shashtgani, sultani* and *yagani*. The smallest of them is the *Sultani dirham*. All these three *dirhams* are current and the commercial transactions amongst them (Indians) are performed with them, but mostly with the *sultuni-dirham* which corresponds to a fourth of the Egyptian and Syrian *dirham*. This *sultani-dirham* consists of eight *fulus* or *two jitals* eyery *jital* being four *fulus* so that the *hashtgani-dirham* which corresponds to the quarter of a silver *dirham* current in Egypt and Syria, has 32 *fulus*. Their *rill* is called "seer" and it weighs seventy *mithqals*, which are equal to 102⅔ Egyptian *dirhams*. Every forty seer make one maund. They do not know the use of a measure ,

Prices.

As regards the prices,[63] on the average a maund of wheat sells for one and a half *hasghtgani dirham.* A maund

63. The prices of some of these articles may be compared with those of Alauddin's time as given by Barni.

Wheat	per mann	7½	Jitals.
Barley	,, ,,	4	,,
Rice	,, ,,	5	,,
Mash	,, ,,	5	,,
Nakhud	,, ,,	5	,,
Moth	,, ,,	3	,,
Sugar	,, seer	1½	,,

The prices of some of these articles in the time of Firoz Tughlaq as given in Afif were:—

Wheat	per mann	8	Jitals.
Barley	,, ,,	4	,,
Nakhud	,, ,,	4	,,
Dalia	,, ,,	4	,,
Ghee	,, seer	2½	,,
Sugar	,, ,,	3½	,,

(Tarikh-i-Firozshahi by Shams Siraj Afif, Muk. VI, Elliot III. 345.

Now, if we convert a hashtgani-dirham into jitals on the basis of 8 jitals for every dirham, the prices of Mohd. Tughlaq's days would read thus:—

Wheat	per mann		12	Jitals.
Barley	,, ,,		8	,,
Rice	,, ,,		14	,,
Peas	,, ,,		4	,,
Beef and Mutton	6 seer	for	2	,,
Meat of sheep	4 ,,	for	2	,,
One goose		for	16	,,
Four fowls		for	8	,,
Sugar	5 seer	for	8	,,
Qand	4 ,,	for	8	,,
A good sheep		for	64	,,
Cow		for	128	,,
Buffalo		for	128	,,

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of barley costs one and a half *hashtgani-driham*. A *mann* (Maund) of barley costs one *dirham*; one of rice costs one *dirham* and three-fourth, but some well-known kinds of rice are dearer than this. Two *manns* of peas cost one *hashtgani airham*. Beef and mutton have the same price and they are sold at six seers for one *sultanidirham*, which is one-fourth of the *hasghtgani dirham*. The meat of sheep at four seers for one *sultani dirham*; a goose for two *hashtgani dirhams* and four fowls for one *hashtgani-dirham*. Five seers of sugar cost one *hashtgani-dirham*, 4 seers qand (Rectified Sugar) one *hashtgani dirham*, a good and fat sheep for one *tanka* which is equal to eight *hashtgani-dirham*; a good cow is sold for two *tankas* and sometimes even cheaper; the buffalo (is sold) at the same price.

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A comparative study of the above lists of prices leaves no doubt that Alauddin's rates were cheaper than those of his successors and that Firoz Tughluq's were at least lower than those of his predecessors. The margin of difference between the rates of Alauddin and Firoz is not so great as of Mohd. bin Tughluq. This may be explained by the fact that the latter's reign witnessed perhaps one of the severest periods of draught and most terrible of famines known to history. It lasted for about seven years with a short interval of one year only. During those years the prices had naturally gone abnormally high; but it is probable that its after-effects made the cheapness of Alauddin's days almost impossible. This state of affairs must have been aggravated considerably by the successive rebellions and expeditions of the Sultan to suppress them in the last years of his reign. With the accession of Firoz Shah, conditions began to change; hence the cheapness of prices, which Afif mentions was not due to any efforts on the part of the Sultan or his government.

It may be noted in this connection that describing the rise of prices in famine days in the reign of Mohd. Tughluq, Ferishta says that corn could not be got even at the rate of one seer for 17 *dirhams*. Evidently this is wrong and he has taken a mann to be a seer for *dirham* denotes a *hashtgani* or 8 jitals.

(See Barni p. 305; Ferishta. Bom. ed. Vol. I, 195, 245; Shams Siraj Afif, Muqaddama, VI).

Mostly the Indians eat beef and goat-flesh. I enquired of *Sheikh Mubarak*: Was this by reason of the paucity of sheep, whereupon he replied: No, nothing but a matter of habit, for the sheep in every village of India cannot be counted but in hundreds and thousands. Four excellent hens are sold for one Egyptian *dirham*. As regards sparrows and other kinds of birds, they are still cheaper. The kinds of game animals and birds are numerous. There are elephants and rhinoceroses but the elephants of Zanj are the best.

Dress.

As regards the characteristics of their dress, their dress is of white stuff and of jaukh.[1] Woolen cloth when imported to them is sold at very high prices. Only the scholars and the *faqirs* wear wool. The Sultan, khans, maliks and other of the military class wear Tataric gowns, *Taklawat* and Islamic *Qabas* of *Khawarizm* buckled in the middle of the body; the turbans are small not exceeding five or six fore-arms, made of fine muslin.

Sharif Nasiruddin Mohammad al-Husaini al-Karimi known as *Zumurrudi* who travelled twice to India and stayed with *Sultan Qutbuddin* in Delhi has related to me that their dresses are mostly white and that their Tartaric gowns are mostly embroidered with gold Some of them wear brocades embroidered on the sleeves, others put the embroidery between their shoulders like the Mughals. Their headgear is square in shape and ornamented with jewels and is mostly inlaid with rubies and diamonds. They plait their hair in hanging locks as the soldiers of Egypt and Syria used to do and they put silk tassels in the locks; they bind gold and silver belts on their waists and wear shoes and spurs. As regards the swords they do not girt the swords except when travelling, but when in residence they do not girt them.

1. Jaukh—a kind of cloth.

As regards the wazirs and secretaries, (their dress) is like that of a soldier but they girt no belts; others let down in front of them the ends of the turban as the Sufis do. As regards the judges and learned men they wear *farjiyat*[1] that resemble the *jandiyat* and the Arabic togas.

Patronage of Men of Letters.

Ash-Shibli has related to me that the people of Delhi are intelligent and sagacious and eloquent in the Persian and Hindi languages. Most of them make verses in Persian and Hindi. Some of them write verses in Arabic and do it well. Among those who compose eulogies to the Sultan are many whose names are not recorded in the Diwan. He accepts them and rewards them. *Shibli* has told me: one of the private secretaries of the Sultan is in the habit of writing an eulogy when a victory or a great thing occurs. The Sultan's habit is to order the verses of the *qasida* to be counted and to give for every verse 10,000 *tankas*. Frequently, when the Sultan approves of the action of a man or knows that an injury was done to him, he does not order the fixing of any particular compensation but only orders him to enter the treasury and carry away whatever he can. When the narrator saw me astonished at what he was telling about the excess of expenses and the extent of the gifts and presents, he said: and in spite of this excessive generosity in bestowing donations he only spends half of the income of his country.

Our Sheikh, who is unique in this age, *Shamsuddin al-Isfahani* related to me the following: *Qutbuddin ash-Shirazi* established that Alchemy was a positive science. He said: Once I discussed with him the falsity of Alchemy whereupon he said to me: You know the amount of gold which is wasted in buildings and manufactured articles while the mines cannot produce the equivalent of that which is lost. As regards India,

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1. Farji—a kind of garment.

I have calculated that for three thousand years they have not exported gold to other countries and what has entered here, has not gone out. The merchants from other zones bring pure gold to India and take in exchange merchandise of herbs and Arabic gums. If gold were not an artificial product it would have completely ceased to exist. Our *Sheikh Shihabuddin* said: As regards his observation "gold is imported to India and does not go out;" it is true. As regards his argument about the positiveness of Alchemy it is false and not valid. He said: I have heard that one of the predecessors of this Sultan made a great conquest and took from there gold loaded on 13,000 oxen. I said: it is known that the people of this country hoard the wealth so that when one of them was asked how much he had, he replied: I do not know but that I am the second or third child who has been hoarding the wealth of his grandfather in this hole or this well and I do not know how much it amounts to. They (the Indians) make wells to hoard their wealth. Some of them pierce a hole in their houses and make it into a cistern and close it up leaving only a small opening through which they let fall the money in order to amass the gold there; they do not take worked gold neither broken nor ingots for fear of fraud; they take but coined money. In some islands of their seas there are people who put a sign on the roof of their house when they have filled up a jar of gold so that some of them have ten or more signs.

The Sufi Shaikh Burhanuddin Abu Bakr bin al-Khallah Muhammad al-Bizzi has related to me the following: This Sultan sent his army to the province of .....[1], and it is in the neighbourhood of Dewogir, in the extremity of its frontiers. The people were infidels and every king was called "rai". When the troops of the Sultan took the field against him he sent a messenger saying: Say to the Sultan that he should refrain from us

1. The name cannot be deciphered. Probably Telingana is meant.

and whatever he wishes in the form of wealth it will be given to him, he should send as many beasts of burden as he likes to carry away. The commander of the army sent information to the Sultan as to what he (the rai) had said. His answer came back that he should refrain from fighting them and give quarter to the Rai. When he presented himself before the Sultan, he honoured him very much and said to him: I have never heard the like of what you have said. What is the amount of wealth you have got that you have told me to send you as many beasts of burden as I like to carry that. The Rai replied: Seven rais have preceded me in this country and everyone of them collected 70,000 *Babin* and all of them are still with me. He said: A *babin* is a very wide cistern from the four sides of which one descends into it with ladders. The Sultan was surprised at his speech and ordered the sealing of the *babins* with his name (to preserve them). So they were sealed with the name of the Sultan. Then he ordered the Rai to nominate a viceroy in his country and that he himself should reside in Delhi and he offered him Islam, but he refused. So he let him act freely in the matter of his religion and he stayed in his court appointing a regent for him in his country and the Sultan assigned attendants for him, suitable for one like him and sent to that country great sums to be distributed to his people as alms saying that they were counted amongst the number of his subjects. The Sultan did not interfere with the *babins*, but only put on them the seal and left them in the same condition under his seal. I have related this according to what *al-Bizzi* related and he is known for his veracity. The responsibility is with him. He who wants further information should turn to him.

Ali bin Mansur al-Udaili, one of the Amirs of Bahrain has related to me the following: Our travellers

are in close connections with India and we are well informed about the happenings there and news have been related to us that this Sultan Mohammad Tughluq Shah has made great conquests. A city which he conquered had a small lake in the middle of which there was a temple of great reputation amongst them. They went there with the offerings and every offering they brought to it was thrown in that lake. When he conquered it he was informed about it. He opened a river (canal) from the lake and drained away the water from it till the lake was dry. Then he took what was there of gold and carried from it 200 loads of elephants and thousands of oxen. The narrator said the Sultan is a generous and noble man who does good to the foreigners. Two men from us travelled to him and they had the good fortune of being introduced to him and he granted them favours and honoured them with robes of honour and paid them huge wealth although they were Arabs of no position. Then he gave them the option between staying or returning. One of them chose to stay and the Sultan gave him a great province and considerable gifts and many things from amongst cattle, sheep and cows. At present he is still living there wealthy and a changed man. The other asked to go home and the Sultan gave him 3,000 gold *tankas*. So he returned home, loaded with presents and is happy.

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